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PRICE TWO CENTS.

'SCURRILOUS SOCIALISTS.'

The Socialist Labor Party is the Thorn That Pricks Mark Hanna

HE SQUEALS AND EXHIBITS HIS WOUNDS.

Opposition of Socialist Labor Party's Organ, Which He Can't Control, Bothering Him More Than He Is Pleased With the Favor of the Entire Capitalist and Labor Fakir Press, Which Responds When He But Pushes the Button—Hanna and "My Friend Gompers" Dine and Talk at Banquet of Labor Flossers.

Senator Hanna had a long talk with Ralph M. Easley, secretary of the National Civic Federation, at the Waldorf-Astoria yesterday, and doubtless issued orders as to what he wished capital and labor to do, as after that the Senator announced that there would be a meeting of the Civic Federation on February 19 to determine the scope of the organization and to form sub-committees to investigate strikes of a minor and local nature. The Senator seemed to feel confident about everything excepting the attitude the Socialist Labor Party would take. In this respect he could not conceal his fears. The "Commercial Advertiser" gives the following interview with him yesterday:

"Outside of my duties in Washington nothing is of such interest to me or so warm my heart as this movement of the Civic Federation for peace between organized labor and capital.

"We are now seeking to engage the confidence, the sympathy and the support of the people in this movement.

"I believe that to-day people who have never before given a thought to labor's rights or to any phase of this question are realizing the importance and the justice of this movement for mediation and conciliation of the differences between capital and labor.

"The metropolitan press of this country is unanimously in favor of this movement. I have thousands of editorials on this subject clipped from papers of every degree, ranging from the metropolitan daily to the once-a-week country paper, and among the whole lot there are but two of these unfavorable articles, and these were clipped from a Socialist organ of a scurrilous nature.

"This support by the press has been something more than an encouragement to the Civic Federation—truly, it is rarely one sees the press and the people so nearly unanimously agreed on any given thing.

"Our policy will be that laid down in the platform—that of mediation and conciliation.

"Mediation first—and this will be most effective when a strike is in the incipient stage. It is then that the most effective work can be accomplished.

"With reference to the ship subsidy bill, the Senator said he believed that all the former objections to the bill had been met, and that he did not now expect any capacious opposition in either branch.

"As the dinner of the New York Board of Trade and Transportation at the Waldorf-Astoria Wednesday night Senator Hanna and Samuel Gompers both talked on the "dignity" of labor.

Hanna said: "This discussion is no new topic to me. I have been through many of the trials connected with this serious problem, and my conclusions are the result of experience. I am one of those alluded to by MY FRIEND Gompers as having arrived at the conclusion that organized labor has a just and proper duty to perform, and that employers have a no less rigorous duty of doing their best to assist organized labor to fulfill its highest purposes.

"I only mean to ask, say, to plead, that each of you pause in each day of your very busy lives and consider whether something outside of your business or indeed inside your business, shall not be done by you to better the condition of your fellow men. The great success of our great industries is lost unless we utilize the success and the wealth which have come to us to help everybody else.

"It was that impulse that recently brought me into conference with the leaders of labor, and the work we are trying to do is in a noble cause which will strengthen our nation and which you cannot separate from our body politic, from our religion, from our best material interests. This is the golden rule.

"I think Mr. Gompers has fairly put this side of the question. He has not made it out half so strong as he easily could. I wish that this cause might fasten itself on the consciences of the people, and that they might not rest until it has been accomplished.

"One word to my friend Hobson. I am a member of the Naval Committee of the Senate. I appreciate the impulse which has led the gallant young officer to speak eloquently for the service. But Mr. President, I beg to offer an amendment (laughter). Don't spend your money on warships! Give us more merchant vessels! Give us something to

protect our trade interests, let us have a fair divide.

"You are for trade and transportation. You have got the trade; we have not got the transportation. Put us on an equal footing, the shipbuilders on one side and the operators of the ships on the other side. Equalize any difference in wages we have to pay our men (and no one of us wants to take one cent from the wages of the American working man or the American sailor or the American shipbuilder), and we can compete with the world."

CHALLENGE TO DEBATE.

Section Collinsville, Ill., S. L. P., Against the Field.

We challenge to a public debate political economists, judges, lawyers, professors, preachers, priests, "labor leaders," and all opponents of Socialism.

The paid hirelings of the capitalist class seek to keep the working class in ignorance as to the cause of their misery. From pulpits and press from college and "pure and simple trades union" there arises a cry to down the Socialists. Some make the assertion that Socialism is a dream, a fantasy of the human mind and utterly unattainable. Others say it is the gospel of the lazy and shiftless who seek to "divide" the wealth of the country. Then he "labor leaders" (who, as Mark Hanna well said, are the "lieutenants of capital"), anxious to batter on the working people and lead them into the shambles of capitalism so that they (the "leaders") receive a "soft snap" in the shape of a political job from either the right or left wing of Capitalism, froth at the mouth at the telling blows struck by the Socialist Labor Party and the Socialist Trade Labor Alliance and resort to calumny to gain their end.

In challenging the foregoing defenders and apologists of capitalism to a debate we present the following points:

1. Socialism is not a dream nor a fantasy of the human mind. It was born of the class struggle produced by the present capitalist system, just as capitalism was of feudalism. A change in social relations will not be due primarily to ideals of men, but to the changes in the methods of production and distribution. The struggles now taking place between the property-possessing and propertyless classes will have its culmination in a political revolution, the result of which will be the expropriation of the expropriators, the downfall of wage-slavery and the birth of the co-operative commonwealth.

2. Socialism is not the gospel of the lazy and shiftless who seek to divide the wealth of the country. Socialists assert the right of the worker to that which he has produced. "If a man will not work, neither shall he eat." At the present time society is divided into two classes—the workers and the shirkers. The workers who produce all wealth receive but one-fifth of their production, while the shirkers—the employing or capitalist class—receive four-fifths. Socialists seek to stop this division by instituting an orderly system of society where all must do their share in wealth production.

3. Socialists recognize the necessity of fighting the capitalist class every day in the year. They have therefore organized the Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance. The battle must be carried on not only in the factory, mine and workshop for 364 days, but on the 365th day, on Election Day, the workers must rally to the ballot box as a class and vote themselves behind the galling yoke, so that when they strike these weapons will be used against them.

Section Collinsville of the Socialist Labor Party hereby issues a challenge to all representatives of capitalism to meet the representatives of the Socialist Labor Party and the Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance on the public platform to debate before the public any phase of the social question, with the understanding that a strict compliance to the rules of debate must be observed. Any organization or individual accepting this challenge can make all necessary arrangements by notifying

FRANK GAYER,
Organizer.

SOLD INTO PROSTITUTION.

Girls Lured from Montreal Rescued in Chicago.

Chicago, Feb. 4.—Led to leave their homes in Canada through promises of employment, three girls were brought to Chicago a week ago and sold into a notorious Levee resort. For seven days they were locked up there. Bolted doors prevented attempt after attempt to escape. Yesterday, through a plea for help and spirited out by chance, they were released from their prison by detectives acting under orders of Chief of Police O'Neill.

The girls were taken to the Detective Bureau in the City Hall and an hour later Margaret Le Brun and Mary Barran, of 22 Custom House place, were placed under arrest on charges of detaining the three girls. Chief O'Neill found what is said to be a regular trade in enticing young women of Canada and western States to Chicago.

The three girls rescued were Maggie Drouin, Eva Campeau and Victoria St. Amour, all of Montreal. The eldest is 23 years old and the youngest 18 years old. They reached Chicago a week ago last Sunday. On Monday, guided by the man and woman who had brought them here from Montreal under promises of employment in a hotel, they were marched up and down the "Levee" district. Houses were entered and the girls offered for sale.

If you are getting this paper without having ordered it, do not refuse it. Someone has paid for your subscription. Renew when it expires.

HELD FIRM.

LYNN MOROCCO WORKERS NOT TO BE FOOLED.

Demand That Employer Live Up to His Contract in Every Particular—Strike Renewed When An Infamous Scab Started to Work.

Lynn, Mass., Feb. 1.—Last Thursday Kelley sent for the Alliance committee, which has charge of the strike in his factory, to come to his office as he desired to make terms with his men, so that they might go to work on Saturday morning.

The committee called upon Kelley and informed him that they demanded that he take back all Alliance men who were loafing. If he did not have enough machines for them he would have to discharge enough scabs to make room for the Alliance men.

Kelley agreed with the proposition of the committee. After the committee had settled the strike an agent of Kelley's, Chandallor by name, turning to the committee said: "Now, boys, take my advice. Now that the strike is settled you should reorganize into a Bower Glaziers' Union and go into the American Federation of Labor. You will do far better in the A. F. of L. than you will in the Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance."

The committee demonstrated that they had not forgotten the lessons that the Socialist Labor Party had taught them, for they turned upon Chandallor and Kelley and showed to those two "gentlemen" that they were not dealing with a lot of ignoramuses.

They told Chandallor that they did not come to him for advice, and stated that they knew what kind of a fakir-led organization the A. F. of L. was.

The Alliance men reported at the Kelley factory at 7 o'clock Saturday morning.

Kelley desired to take his pick out of the men. They refused to stand for it and informed him that they would not go back to work unless they went back in a body.

When Kelley saw what a lot of determined men he was buckling up against he began to yield.

He then said that he would take back everyone, but one Alliance man he would not take back under any consideration. They refused to go back unless he took back everyone, no matter who he was.

Kelley finally yielded and they all returned to work.

Kelley told them that he would not put another man to work, as he did not have any idle machines.

Everything went along smoothly until noon. When the men returned to work at 1 P. M. they found Harry Brown, who was recently expelled from L. A. 260 for scabbing preparing to go to work. The committee was immediately sent to the office to protest against Brown going to work.

Chandallor told the committee that Kelley had gone to Boston and did not know when he would be back.

The committee insisted that Kelley was shamming and that he was at home. They went back into the glazing room and reported what Chandallor had told them.

A meeting was held and it was voted to refuse to work with Brown.

Every man promptly left the factory. The men were hardly out upon the street when Kelley was seen running toward the shop, which proved that the committee was right when they insisted that he was at home.

When he came up to the men he wanted to know what was the matter.

They told him that they had reliable information that Kelley had discharged Brown over a week ago.

Kelley claimed that he did not discharge Brown, but that Brown was not working for a week.

The Alliance men refused to work with Brown and would not return to work, and so they are out yet.

Kelley said to the strikers: "I thought when you fellows got into the factory that nothing could pull you out again. I thought that being out for over three months would be enough for you, and you would be willing to listen to reason."

But Kelley found his men were not to be humbugged, and that after being out 12 weeks they were as ready and willing to fight him now as on the day they came out.

Many of the leather workers are coming to a realization of their conditions and see that they must vote as they strike, and a number of them intend to join Section Lynn.

Send all contributions for the strikers to Thomas M. Birtwill, 30 Southside avenue, Lynn, Mass.

Old Age Pensions.

According to a recent announcement of plans, the American Steel and Wire Company will pension old employees and retire old workmen at the age of sixty-five years unless they desire and are found fitted for further work. These men are to be pensioned if they have served ten with the company or its predecessors. Those already more than sixty-five may make application for retirement and a pension.

As a pension the company proposes to give one per cent of the average monthly pay for each year of service.

The method of discharging old men to make room for young ones is quite general in steel mills. Where it is not pursued the old men are given easier positions at less wages. Few, as a result, are employed at pensionable age, or when employed receive such small wages that the pension amounts to very little.

UNION SMASHERS.

How the Organized Scabbery Works the Trick.

[Translated from "The Abend-Blatt," Jewish Official Organ of the S. L. P.]

Our readers are already aware that Sam Gompers, Mark Hanna's Vice-President, is making preparations to organize an opposition union to the existing cap-makers' national union. This means that there will be founded a cap-makers' union in opposition to each of the existing locals which will remain loyal to its national organization. The cap-makers may expect a bitter struggle. Mark Hanna's labor lieutenants are unscrupulous as to methods in their fights against each workman who refuses to pay dues to them. The shameless and cruel attack on the cigarmakers' union "La Resistencia" in Tampa, Fla., is a most atrocious case in point. This crime in Tampa will forever remain one of the blackest pages in the history of the Organized Scabbery.

Very interesting indeed is the case of the cap-makers.

A convention was called for the purpose of perfecting a young national organization and also to decide which general federation to join to. The Jewish Organized Scabbery made violent efforts, written and oral, to drag the new organization into Mark Hanna's American Federation of Labor. On the floor of that convention, recently held in this city, an eloquent picture of the "greatness," "glory" and "happiness" that will await them in the Federation, was drawn before the delegates; and they were told that the S. T. & L. A. was a "union-smashing" organization, whose spokesmen were denounced and had to suffer all sorts of accusations. But all to no avail.

The first blow administered to the Organized Scabbery was the passing of a resolution condemning the Industrial Peace Conference.

The debate on the question, which national federation body to join, lasted two days. The five delegates who advocated joining the Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance, so completely and so masterfully exposed the black and ugly crimes of the A. F. of L. that the advocates of the latter felt so routed as to be unable to meet any of the points advanced by the speakers for the S. T. & L. A. The result was that, when the vote was taken, all, with one exception, turned their backs on the A. F. of L.; while the spokesmen of the Alliance proudly remained at their post, from beginning to end, holding up the banner of the S. T. & L. A. Five votes being cast for the Alliance as against one vote for the Federation, the victory of the former was as great as the defeat of the latter.

To begin with, the Alliance spokesmen prevented the cap-makers from falling into the clutches of Gompers; secondly, they clearly demonstrated to the convention the necessity there is for the wage workers to have an organization like the Alliance; lastly, they (the Alliance spokesmen) proved that the S. L. P. and S. T. & L. A. champions are not men of straw, who back out or break down at the last moment, but are men of courage, vigor and perseverance.

When the vote was taken and it was shown, as was expected, that the cap-makers' organization was not going to be an integral part of the S. T. & L. A., Delegate Hinder of New York took the floor and, in the following passage, expressed the sentiments and thoughts of all friends of the Alliance:

"We recognize that the Alliance is the only organization for workingmen. Although it has been decided that we remain independent we shall, nevertheless, work for the welfare of the union. We must be prepared for a fight with the American Federation of Labor. We may always rely on the support of the Alliance and shall not give up the agitation in favor of the S. T. & L. A."

How has the Organized Scabbery taken its defeat? Through its press it circulated the lie that "the convention was called together by 'De Leonites' who were badly beaten as they only got five votes for the S. T. & L. A." But it seems that for this defeat Gompers is now seeking revenge on the cap-makers by endeavoring to smash their unions.

A Chicago delegate who advocated joining the A. F. of L. said, during the debate, that if the cap-makers will not belong to that national body, it (the A. F. of L.) will send scabs when a strike will be on. But Sam Gompers now shows that there is no need to wait until a strike will break out, he'd rather not let it come to that as he is now an "angel of peace" and therefore tries to smash the unions altogether.

The same New York delegate, whom we quote above, also said at the convention: "If the cap-makers' organization is to join the Federation it will thereby come in contact with the gang of Jewish labor fakirs. Before this gang of fakirs succeeded in capturing the United Hebrew Trades, they would organize opposition unions to those belonging to that body (U. H. T.). Since the U. H. T. fell into their hands nothing has been accomplished for the Jewish wage workers."

When one considers the crimes at Tampa, the outrageous attack on the cap-makers' organization; and the treacherous selling out of the "Vorwaerts" to the cigarette manufacturers, to the manufacturer Abramovitch especially, whose strike was suppressed by this "Vorwaerts" on account of an advertisement, the question naturally arises: "Who smashes unions, who breaks strikes, the S. T. & L. A. or the Organized Scabbery?"

Steel Plants Closed.

Pittsburg, Feb. 4.—It is said that the United States Steel Corporation and Jones & Laughlins, limited, have closed down certain plants because billets and tin bars cannot be produced rapidly enough to supply the current demand.

FUR THE DAILY PEOPLE.

COGENT REASONS WHY ITS NEXT FESTIVAL SHOULD BE UNSURPASSED.

The Many Snares and Delusions Which Make a Truly Class-Conscious Daily Newspaper a Necessity—What the Party Membership's Duty Is in the Matter.

The next DAILY PEOPLE Festival will be held at the Grand Central Palace, on Sunday, March 16th. Until then this date, together with all that it implies, should be borne constantly in mind by the members of the fighting S. L. P.

No effort should be spared to make this Festival an unparalleled success from every point of view. The necessity of supporting a truly class-conscious Socialist daily newspaper should be apparent to all party members and sympathizers.

At this period in American industrial development it is necessary that such a paper be maintained to expose the false character of the prosperity with which it is claimed the American working class are blessed and will continue to be blessed. It is necessary that a class-conscious Socialist newspaper be maintained to warn against and prepare the working class for the dangers which are bound to follow the present "prosperity"—the dangers of an industrial reaction which will plunge the country into a period of "hard times" that will surpass those of 1893 in working class suffering and misery.

Such a newspaper is also necessary at this period when industrial development is dividing the capitalist and working classes along sharper lines—lines which reveal the immense consolidations on one hand and the puny trade unions on the other—lines which the capitalist and their labor lieutenants, the labor fakirs, are assiduously trying to blur by the creation of "Peace" Commissions and other despicable schemes meant to lullwink and subjugate the working class.

Finally such a newspaper is absolutely essential to the success of the class-conscious Socialist Labor Party in the approaching Congressional and gubernatorial elections—elections in which the strength and influence of class-conscious Socialism can be tested and shown in a large number of the industrial states of the union. For the class-conscious proletariat to be without a daily newspaper in these industrial states, is to compel it to enter a vast arena improperly equipped and unprotected.

All of the above reasons should make clear to the membership of the Socialist Labor Party the necessity of making the DAILY PEOPLE financially stronger than it was ever before—of making it not only able to continue to wage the battle of the class-conscious proletariat as effectively it has done before, but also to enable it to do more—go farther, over a wider and greater area than ever before.

The DAILY PEOPLE Festival at the Grand Central Palace on Sunday, March 16, must then be made an unparalleled success. Let every member of the Socialist Labor Party be determined to be able to say at its close: "This festival surpassed in every respect any that OUR party has ever held." Let HIM or HER see to it that the number of tickets sold is unsurpassable; that the attendance is unsurpassable; that the quantity and quality of the presents received are unsurpassable and that the enjoyment derived and the amount realized are unsurpassable. With this determination, on the part of our members, the Festival cannot fail to beat any that has preceded it.

The programme arranged by the Entertainment Committee is such that it could be hardly equalled. The Entertainment Committee, in securing the New York Symphony Orchestra and William Hoffman, its director, has provided a feature which none need hesitate to invite their friends and acquaintances to hear—a feature for which it is easy to dispose of tickets without argument or the offers of souvenirs. At this festival, the Entertainment Committee, with William Hoffman's assistance, will make a departure, by having a vocal soloist of a high order on the programme.

The Ladies' Auxiliary will endeavor to surpass all previous attempts in the conducting of a bazaar and fair. With this object in view they ask the hearty cooperation of the party membership. Knick-knacks, bric-a-brac and other meritorious articles will be duly received and appreciated by the Auxiliary. Members desirous of assisting in this feature of the festival, are requested to send presents to Kate Pryor, 2-6 New Reade street, New York, who will acknowledge their receipt in the DAILY PEOPLE.

Members desiring to assist in the sale of tickets are requested to call on or address Lazarus Abelson, 2-6 New Reade street, New York, top floor.

Don't forget the date, Grand Central Palace, Sunday, March 16th.

Now, then, a long pull, a strong pull and a pull all together.

Mine Dead Now Number 100.

Sabinas, Mexico, Feb. 4.—The work of moving the dead out of the Hondo mines has been progressing all day. The total number of bodies so far removed reaches 100. The authorities have ordered an investigation.

MUNICIPAL "REFORM."

The Sydney Australia Gentry Much Like the Breed Here.

The Sydney, Australia, "People" is fighting a valiant fight in the cause of Socialism. It has to face the gangs of "reformers," "trades unionists," political freaks and fakirs of all kinds. It does so ably, as is shown by the following article from the number of December 28th:

SWEATING THE BOYS!

THE "REFORM" MUNICIPAL COUNCIL.

As An Employer of Boy Labor. "Labor" Members As Boss Sweaters.

Another strike took place in Sydney last week. This time the strikers were boys in the employ of Sydney's "reform" Municipal Council. The strike was over a matter of wages. The boys are employed as street sweepers, and their work is of the most dangerous kind, having to be performed in the midst of the continuous traffic with a perpetual risk of being run over. As a matter of fact, one of them met with his death only the other week while performing his work.

Previously this work was done by men. Eventually their wages were reduced and finally the "reformers" of the Council substituted boy labor, at the rate of from 13s to 15s per week, and in a few isolated cases 1s.

The "reform" Council includes Mr. Sam Smith, "Labor" member for Pyrmont and secretary of the Seamen's Union, sometime described as the Napoleon of Labor politics; Mr. Andy Kelly, "Labor" member for Denison, Master Publican, and ex-trade-union secretary, likewise labor "scab"; J. D. Fitzgerald, ex-Labor member; and others.

And the position these "Labor" men have got themselves in to is almost enough to make the "People" laugh. Mr. Sam Smith, representing the "labor" interest, and fighting as secretary of his union for higher wages for the seamen, is also a "reform" boss sweater of the nippers who do the dangerous work of the Council—and in order to secure better wages from "Labor" members Smith and Kelly and their fellow "reformers," the boys were forced to strike.

When they do eventually form their union and strike, and turn to the Sydney Labor Council for advice and assistance, they are recommended by "Labor" commissioners Brennan and others to return to work, pending a settlement of the matter. And thus the back of the strike is broken, and the "reformers" are able to announce that they had no difficulty to get blacklegs to take the places of those who still remained on strike; and a number of lads are now experiencing what it means to be victimized.

A wonderful institution in the "reform" Municipal Council.

But a more wonderful concern still is the Executive of Sydney Labor Council.

CROWD SEES BIDDLES' BODIES.

Riot Guns Were Used by Posse in Pursuit of Fugitives.

Pittsburg, Pa., Feb. 4.—Five thousand men and women viewed this forenoon the bodies of Ed. and Jack Biddle in the rooms of an undertaker. A blizzard was raging, but the snow and low temperature had no terror for the curious. Bunches of white carnations were placed in the hands of the dead men by a well-dressed woman who refused to give her name to the attendants. She was allowed to see the bodies before the doors were opened to the crowd. Whether or not she is the woman who interceded with Governor Stone and induced him to grant a respite that saved the boys from the gallows no one knows.

The mutilated condition of the Biddles was explained yesterday, when it was made public at the jail that the weapons used by the pursuing posse were riot guns. The jail has had an arsenal filled with such weapons for some years, and when the detectives left in pursuit of the Biddles Thursday they were armed with the long-ranged blunderbusses.

The "rifles" are really Winchester repeating shotguns of 10 gauge and capable of discharging 12 shells without reloading. Each of the cartridges is filled with an unusual amount of powder and nine large buckshot, separated into three compartments by wadding. In each compartment the three buckshot are supported by No. 12 shot, so that the barrel cannot clog and distort the buckshot. The nature of the barrel and shell and the unusual amount of power make it possible to shoot at very long range as rapidly and accurately as with a rifle. The shot scatter over a space of 100 feet across the luckless person who comes in the fatal path. Sportsmen say that the Biddles never had a single thread of a chance after the posse caught sight of them. The fire was as deadly as from a Gatling gun. The wonder is that all three fugitives were not killed at the first volley, not that the aim was accurate, but that the fire was deadly.

Tried to Stop the Inevitable.

Albany, Feb. 4.—Assemblyman Doolin this morning introduced a bill providing that no railroad corporation operating an elevated railroad in any city shall maintain trains drawn by any power other than locomotive without at least one assistant in addition to the operator or motorman in charge of the motor thereof, in order to safeguard the lives of the passengers in case of accident to the motorman or operator. The bill is directed against the "L" roads in New York and designed to prevent the discharge of the fireman.

REV. PUTTY CHEEKS

Meets With a "Warm" Reception In Syracuse.

O, KANGAROO! O, KANGAROO!

He Earns One Day's Salary Serving As a Target for S. L. P. Questioners Who Hit the Bull's-Eye Every Time—Badly Riddled and Rattled He Abandons the Field, to the Victorious S. L. P. Refrain "O Kangaroo! O Kangaroo! We Didn't Do a Thing to You."

Syracuse, N. Y., Jan. 28.—The Social Democrats held a meeting in this city Sunday afternoon.

"This is not a question of—"

"Gentlemen, one moment—"

"Oh, cut it out!"

"We are not discussing tactics, we are discussing Socialism."

"That is no answer!"

"You traitor, shut up!"

Such were the remarks which hurled about Rev. Charles H. Vail a \$2,000-a-year national organizer of the Social Democratic party, who addressed a mass meeting of the Labor Lyceum in the assembly room of the City Hall. He had spoken on the subject of "Socialism," and his address had been received with consideration, but when he invited an open discussion, after the manner of the Lyceum, the trouble began.

For about half an hour Rev. Vail was the object of a crossfire of questions on the part of a number of S. L. P. men, and they certainly made things lively for him. He did his best to quell the tumult by the use of the gavel, but no sooner would it subside for a moment than some one would jump up, ask him a question, receive an answer which would not be taken as satisfactory, and the jeers of the crowd would be heaped out with a vim.

But Rev. Vail had his supporters, too, and they were much in evidence. Their shrieks aided in swelling the tumult, but it was with their arms that they spoke the most. At times a forest of arms was waving and a perfect babel of voices gave vent to their feelings.

When the S. L. P. had decided the speaker to their hearts' content, they collected in the rear of the hall and united in singing the refrain, "O Kangaroo," a song which expressed their disapprobation of the principles handed out by the reverend gentleman, and declarative of their belief in him only as a traitor to the cause of Socialism.

It is safe to say that Rev. Mr. Vail will long remember the warm time that he had at the City Hall. When he left the meeting he looked as if he found his job far from being a bed of roses. The cause of the demonstration was in the statements of the speaker to the effect that a solution of the labor problem could only be arrived at by following the principles of the Social Democratic party. He was asked in the questioning whether he had not made the same statement relative to the Socialist Labor party in this city three years since, and on his denial was branded as a traitor by those who declared that he had done so.

In the evening Mrs. Charles H. Vail addressed a meeting for women in the Arbeiter-Sanger Hall, on the subject "Socialism and Its Relation to Women and the Home." After Mrs. Vail finished, the Rev. Vail made a brief address. He seemed easier in the presence of the women than he had been at the afternoon meeting.

A Floating Button Factory.

Taking the factory to the raw material, instead of bringing the material to the factory, is an innovation just put in operation on the Mississippi River by a button factory, and it is a plan that has many practical advantages.

This factory is a boat 42 feet long and 12 feet wide, fitted with all the necessary machinery for the manufacture of buttons, and provided with a three-horsepower engine for its work.

The principal material used by this factory is mussel shells, which are found at nearly all points along the river, and one of the great expenses in conducting the business heretofore has been the cost of transporting the shells. Now the factory has reversed the operation and will go to the mussels.

When a bed of shells is found the boat will drop its anchor and go to work. When the bed is exhausted it will go on to a new location. In this fashion it will go from State to State, from Minnesota to Louisiana, passing along with the seasons.—Philadelphia Times

January Failures.

SOCIALIST LABOR PARTY vs. SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY.

Debate between MEIKO MEYER and HERMAN RICHTER, on the side of Section Detroit, Socialist Labor Party, Against GEORGE EASTMAN and WILLIAM E. WALTER, on the side of the Socialist Party.

Debate between Meiko Meyer and Herman Richter on the side of Section Detroit, Socialist Labor Party against George Eastman and Wm. E. Walter, on the side of the Socialist Party.

Arthur D. F. Elmer, the chairman, announced the purpose of the debate and introduced Meiko Meyer as the first speaker, opening with 40 minutes.

Meyer.
Mr. Chairman, Fellow Workmen and Women: The point to prove is that the "Socialist Party," heretofore known as the "Social Democratic Party" of Detroit, does not stand for the emancipation of the (wage) working class from wage slavery. This forces one to consider the local "Socialist Party," and gives us a hold on a definite something; this definite something can not be discovered in their national party—for in different places it stands for different things, i. e., it wants at one place an armory building, at another place it wants co-operative small trading, at another place it wants fusion, etc. For the local movement we must consider that it cannot be better than the principles of the men who originated it.

On Sept. 19, 1897, the "Direct Legislation League" used W. D. Mahon, President of the Street Railway Employees' Association, to speak at their meeting in the name of the S. D. P. On Oct. 19 of 1899 or 1900, the "Evening News" says that Hutchins (the manager of the local street car syndicate) recommends Mahon for Alderman; hence, Mahon stands branded as not opposed to street railway capitalists, and, therefore, he can not be standing for the class-interests of the wage working class. As a labor arbitrator (for the state) Mahon showed his hand as friendly to the employing class. And the "Direct Legislation League," just lately, in a circular dated Nov. 25, 1901, states that ON "FRANCHISES" (i. e., the people should vote, but IT REQUIRES TRAINED BUSINESS MEN to superintend things and to investigate them for the people. Hence, business men must keep control—not the wage-working class—and private franchises—not public ownership—shall be the system that shall prevail. This means that private interests and profit, i. e., that exploitation of the wage workers shall be continued.

According to the "Journal" of a date of about the time when the consolidation of the different street railways occurred, even the 3 cent fare franchises were pushed through with the intention that the Astors, through Tom L. Johnson, should join the new lines to their other systems. But you may say that Mahon and the "Direct Legislation League" had nothing to do with the Social Democratic party ever since that meeting. Even if that should be so, I had to consider the occurrence to show where and how the idea to start a rival "Socialist party" first originated.

Mr. Geo. Eastman is the next man to consider. He was present at the S. D. P. meeting in Arbeiter Hall, on Sept. 17, 1897, and he soon after that joined the Socialist Labor Party, but he was imbued with the idea that Mahon was O. K.; hence, he was opposed to the S. L. P. men who had opposed the stand taken by the first S. D. P. pushers. But George Eastman soon afterwards openly showed that he opposed the organization of the wage-workers into a class conscious political party, by signing his name to a decision of the Grievance Committee—a decision suspending M. Meyer, myself, for one year from membership in the S. L. P. because I claimed that the S. L. P. must have been the documentary evidence of everything I have said. Here is THE PEOPLE of June 10, 1899, in which appeared under the heading "Free Laborer," and for writing it I was suspended. It says here: "We want to abolish the system that allows (quoting from Karl Marx's 'Capital') 'that the two very different kinds of commodity possessors must come face to face and into contact, on the one hand, owners of money, means of production, means of subsistence, who are eager to increase the sum of values they possess, by buying other people's labor power; on the other hand, free laborers, the sellers of their own labor power, and therefore the sellers of labor.' The aim of the Socialist movement is to abolish the system that allows (again quoting from Marx's 'Capital') 'free laborers, in the double sense that neither they themselves form part and parcel of the means of production, as in the case of slaves, bondsmen, etc., nor that the means of production do belong to them, as in the case of peasant proprietors; they are, therefore, free from, unencumbered by, any means of production of their own.' 'We want to abolish the system where, on the one hand capital, and, on the other hand, free labor can exist, that the present system be replaced, not with another new capitalist system, but with socialism, with a system where the workers will not become capitalists and 'enabled to increase the sum of values they possess by buying other people's labor power,' but where they will become collectively, socially, the owners of the means of production and distribution; not as individuals or groups of individuals.' 'Direct class interests predominate and influence the thoughts, sentiments and actions of a class. It is folly to imagine that a class will harm itself directly when it is conscious of its direct interests.' 'The employer—large or small—knows that his direct interest is more profit and less expense. The worker knows that his interest lies in the highest pay, the greater degree of comfort and the shortest hours of labor, regardless of the

expense all this may cause the employer. 'With class lines abolished, and with the control of the S. L. P. left in the hands of the capitalists, middle class folks, opportunists, politicians and adventurers, consistency and principle vanish, the class movement would have gone up in reaction; instead of class interests, we then would find individual private interests the only guiding consideration.' Mr. Chappel of Plymouth, Mich., took the article up as referring to my writing it. In his charges—which I have here—he says: "Mr. Meyer bitterly assails this appeal and attempts to make out in substance that only the wage-worker can be class-conscious and that the Socialist Labor Party is, and must continue to be an exclusively wage labor class movement." "It is not to be supposed that a co-operative commonwealth would be utterly without capital, although the present individual capitalist would be superseded by the collective capitalists."

"Let no class-unconscious idiot among us insult him," Mr. Chappel means by "him" any man who upholds his own ideal by telling him that unless he forgets his own individual and class interests, and understands that he is in the S. L. P. only for the purpose of helping in the emancipation of the wage-slave, he will be a traitor to the principle of Socialism and to the party."

And Mr. George Eastman, the present opponent to the S. L. P. in this debate, subscribed to the above principles by upholding Mr. Chappel and his charges. There is the signature, right here, to the report of the decision of the Grievance Committee. Mr. Stanley Kleindienst and Mr. Gustave Zander were the other two members of the Grievance Committee that upheld Chappel.

And that nothing else but a difference about the class struggle question was underlying Mr. Chappel's charges is proven by this letter of Mr. Chappel to the Michigan State Committee. He says here: "I simply wish to recall the fact that the principal issue between us, the one that most nearly concerns the policy and tactics of the S. L. P., was, substantially: 'Is the S. L. P. an exclusively wage-labor party?' Meyer maintained the affirmative, and I the negative side of this question." In THE PEOPLE of March 19, 1899, the N. E. C. of the S. L. P. caused a letter of Chappel to be printed. Mr. Chappel says there: "Is the S. L. P. an exclusively wage-labor class party?" Meyer maintaining the affirmative, and I the negative. The result was that my charges were sustained by the Section and he was suspended for one year. Meyer then took the case to the National Board of Appeals, where the Section was overruled and an order given for his reinstatement. As you see, the National Board of Appeals of the S. L. P. reversed their decision and by this act it decided that George Eastman, Stanley Kleindienst, Gustave Zander, Chappel, and all those who had voted to suspend myself, that they all mistook the S. L. P. for something different from what it was. Chappel, alone, of them all, was honorable enough to withdraw from the Party that represented the class interests of the wage-working class—from the Party that represented the class interests of a class they all had acknowledged their opposition to.

As to some of the other people who supported the enemies of the S. L. P. by voting against myself for standing squarely for class-conscious wage-labor political action, Gustave Herzog and Charles Erb must be considered, but they must be considered not only for this one stand taken by them against the wage-working class interests, but, also, and mainly, because their individuality places their stamp upon the Party newly reorganized by them—because the Socialist Party could not adopt from them broader and better views than they themselves possessed.

A few days before the spring election of 1899, the "News-Tribune" printed an interview with Gustave Herzog and Charles Erb. As a result of this article of the "News-Tribune," Charles Erb and Gustave Herzog were called upon by the Section of the S. L. P. to repudiate the report as printed, but, instead, Charles Erb and Gustave Herzog expressed themselves friendly to Pingreeism in much more convincing language than the "News-Tribune" had published.

And what did they uphold as Pingreeism? Pingree's three cent fare boom is now too well known as Tom Johnson's private interest boom.

In the "Evening News" of Jan. 18, 1902, Tom Johnson is reported as pushing three cent fare franchises; when Pingree intended to go home from South Africa, he took along a present TO HIS FRIEND, TOM JOHNSON; on April 3, 1901, Tom Johnson is reported as trying to establish cheaper street car fares; on April 4, 1901, Tom's brother Alf is reported as pushing three cent fare franchises in New York; on Jan. 10, 1901, Tom Johnson is reported as saying that three cent fares paid better than five cent fares (undoubtedly on account of the increased traffic and the cheaper and better improved systems now about to come in vogue on all new lines); on June 19, 1901, the "Evening News" says that for the last years Pingree has counted Tom Johnson among his friends; on April 12, 1899, Tom Johnson even boomed Pingree's municipal ownership scheme at a meeting on the west side—see the "Evening News" of April 13, 1899; and at the same meeting Tom Johnson admitted that he spoke there as he did as a representative of capitalism—of monopoly;—and on January 18, 1902, the "Evening News" reported Tom Johnson—the representative of monopoly—as trying to "force a bill authorizing the issuing of bonds by municipalities for municipal ownership purposes." Can anything like that, pushed by a capitalist for his own interest, be the proper interest for the wage-working class?

It is not clear that Pingreeism—which is now known as Tom Johnsonism—is capitalism and not socialism? It is not clear that capitalism, which stands for the continuation of exploitation of labor, can not be considered as aiming at the emancipation of the wage workers from wage slavery? And that is the thing—the principle—Erb and Herzog professed to believe in. They backed up capitalism as it showed itself at Conner's creek when Pingree decided that "the police force should be kept in constant readiness to suppress any outbreak." They supported capitalism as it showed itself in the following words of Ex-Mayor-Ex-Governor, Pingree, reported in the "Free Press" of April 20, 1894. He said: "The affair is a disgrace to the community, and cannot be condemned too severely, all attempts to continue such disorderly conduct must be put down at once. It must be held in check by our own police and not by hired men by any board."

They supported capitalism by advocating the justice of Pingreeism, which, sooner than pay living wages, recommends the club and gun cure; and they supported capitalism when they supported capitalist municipal ownership, Pingree municipal ownership, or Tom Johnson municipal ownership—as at present in vogue in our water system, where, and when, sooner than pay living wages, our capitalist boards and major councilmen voted violence. Yes, Erb and Herzog opposed the emancipation of the wage working class from wage-slavery when they endorsed the exploitation of labor by endorsing Pingree, or even by endorsing municipal ownership schemes after the model of our water system. The consideration that establishes Socialism is not that we get municipal ownership, but the considerations necessary for Socialism and the emancipation of the wage worker from wage slavery, is that the wage workers themselves get control of the municipal, state and national governments so as to make collective operation of the means of production and distribution through the government, for the producers, a possibility.

But the local leaders of the "Socialist Party" are guilty of still other misdeeds which discredit them as men able to be consistent in any manner. This inconsistency makes them unreliable, even, as to the truth of any statement they make. In the New York "Vorwaerts" of June 22, 1899, Wm. Hues, No. 9 Collins St., states that only 7 or 8 men are left in Section Detroit, S. L. P. and these are three brothers and four brothers-in-law.

Hence, even if we don't consider that they told a falsehood, both in the numbers and the relationship existing between the members of Section Detroit, we still find that they acknowledge as early as June 22, 1899, that for some time past only the class conscious members had retained membership in Section Detroit, S. L. P. In the N. Y. "Vorwaerts" of July 29, 1899, an article appears, signed by Geo. Eastman, in which Geo. Eastman states that Chas. Erb, Gustave Herzog, S. Fred Steyer, Henry Kummerfeldt, Louis Erb, Emil Steyer, John H. Finnette, Chris. Vahlbusch, Wm. Wittenburg, Kriehoff and others, resigned previously from the party and have organized an "independent propaganda club"; but that now, since they find that in New York not all socialists were asleep, as shown to their satisfaction by the split, now they "don't have to turn their back upon the party any longer." Hence, they acknowledge that they could not have voted in the S. L. P. when the split in New York occurred, and I have here Eastman's resignations from the party and the State Committee, signed the 20th and the 21st of March, 1899, respectively, but in spite of that fact Eastman in the Kangaroo "People" of Sept. 3, 1899, talks as a full-fledged member of the S. L. P., as a man who had a voice in the affairs of the party when the Kangaroo trouble arose; because he says: "And while I would probably have voted to reinstate them (the N. E. C.) had they shown a disposition to obey party law, which they have been so particular about that others should do, I cannot consistently do so now."

Eastman admits on July 19, 1899, that he did the rest belong to an "independent propaganda branch" and in the fall of that same year they go before the election commissioners and claim that they are the only original S. L. P. Yes, they even advertised a 25th anniversary of the S. L. P. although they admit in the "Vorwaerts" of June 22, and July 29, 1899, that they do not belong to the S. L. P. at all!

Can anybody believe a person who states such contradictions, when he says that he voted the S. L. P. ticket, although the returns of the election show no vote when there ought to have been one in his district had he voted for the party that he was a member of? And this happened to George Eastman. And, mind you, before you workmen can be expected to have faith in any party that claims to represent your interests, it must first show by its own membership that it is sincere, that it is not simply monkeying, that it is not composed of bluffers, braggarts, liars, etc., or, at least, that when it comes down to action, there is no inclination upon which an excuse for further inconsistency action can be found. Hence, at least, "the leaders" (?) of a movement must be consistent, and if a movement is organized upon and by such inconsistency, nothing more than inconsistency, and, therefore, nothing more than failure can be the result. If it was not true that, to knock out an undesirable opponent, it becomes good policy for the opposition to support inconsistency, inconsistent movements could never exist, let alone live, for any length of time. Hence, the outspoken enemies of the wage-working class are responsible for the fact that the Socialist Party or the Social Democratic Party lived at all. But even the enemies of the class-conscious wage-workers movement deny the inconsistency of a movement whenever they have succeeded in unloading upon that movement all their desires.

At first they deny consistency as bossism, and when a person is made shabby and reactionary by such cries, then they turn around and denounce him for having become inconsistent. I have here, for instance, a letter from E. C. Reichwald, Secretary of the "American Secular (?) Union and Freethought (?) Federation." He says: "My experience with Socialism has been that most all leaders are frauds for they are always ready to sell out to anyone of the other parties."

"They informed me that they had received promises from the ruling party. Just as long as you preach Socialism and vote the old tickets, you will accomplish nothing. Your arguments appear to be poor taste for you don't practice what you preach." This is an argument which cannot be found or heard in Detroit at the present time, because the Section S. L. P., as a result of its aggressiveness, has either forced the confusionists to remain somewhere near straight—so far as the public was able to see their acts—or it forced them to collapse immediately, and they had to join the capitalist parties before doing, and without being able to do any damage to the class conscious wage-workers' movement—to the S. L. P.

But this aforesaid argument comes from Chicago, from the city where aggressiveness and consistency were nearly totally wiped out by the "broadness" and easy going tactics adopted by the Social Democracy or Socialist Party. And who were the people that advocated broadness—but just the people of Reichwald's stamp? Of course, they were not all "Freethinkers" (?) but whether they were "Freethinkers" and "Anarchists" first, or whether they were "Christians" first, or whether they were "Jews" first, or whether they were "Unionists" pure and simple first, the fact is that all people who had other hobbies, other ideas that had to be represented and satisfied in preference to socialism, they all wanted the S. L. P. to be "broad enough" to embrace, first of all, their conflicting hobbies and ideas, and as a result, when their ideas could not stay within a party that did not care to consider their hobbies first, and principle last, they, strange as it may seem, all joined hands and became a "united Socialist party" as opposed to the Socialist Labor party; but they became a self destroying power within their own ranks because the one was always looking at his hobby, or, at least, that he should predominate in the "Socialist Party." This is the reason why we find autonomy in the Socialist Party as composed at present. Autonomy means dissolution or decomposition—even if, to the eye, it appears as if an organization exists. Where a small branch and its hobby, or its idea, stands stands elevated above the organization and its claimed principles, there no general predominating principle exists within the thing that wishes to be equal to an actual organization.

By examining "Der Herold" of October 6, 1899, we will find an article on the last page under the heading "Zur Erwiderung" (To reply). In this article the words "Boss," "Tyrant" and the like are applied with an ease and grace that even a boodler politician must feel incapable of equaling when he reads the masterpiece of "anti-bossistic" literature printed at that time in our local "Unabhängiges Organ für Freiheit und Recht." (Independent organ for freedom and right). This paper is notoriously the organ of the "Freethinkers" (?) and "Anarchists" and it was such as early as October 6, 1899. Hence, this paper was and is the mouthpiece of people of the stripe of Reichwald of Chicago. And in its article "Zur Erwiderung" it bears out my previous claim—as to the desire that with them individual hobbies and individual aspirations shall predominate in the party—if they can help it—over the actual principle of organization of the wage working class for their class interest of establishing collective ownership of the means this class uses to produce the necessities of life. This paper says:

"Dem Herold wird vorgeworfen, dass er all Arten Unsinn propagiere und überhaupt kein Prinzip habe. Die Leute dieses Circular verfassten sind auf dem allseitigmachenden Glauben der echten S. L. P. eingeschoren." (They throw up to the Herold that it advocates all kinds of nonsense and has no principle. The people that got up this circular are pledged to the only salvation bringing belief of the true S. L. P.) Then it continues as follows: "That besides their organization other organizations exist that fight for progress and freedom, and more so than they themselves ever fought for it, that is something they don't consider. The Unions (pure and simple) the Social Democratic Party, the anarchist groups, the Freethinker societies, are, according to their reasoning, 'Fakirs'. Instead of convincing people of different, antagonistic ideas that their own views are right, they simply expel them." It is not necessary to consider the falsehood that the S. L. P. expelled "Freethinkers, Anarchists, pure and simple unionists," etc.; nobody was ever expelled from the S. L. P. so long as he lived up to the fundamental principle, so long as he lived up to the class interest, and so long as he aimed at the emancipation from wage slavery of the wage working class by living up to the platform and constitution of the S. L. P.

But contrariwise, those who wanted to force upon the S. L. P. their hobbies and aspirations in preference and as predominating over the actual principle of class conscious organization and action, they were the ones who suspended or tried to suspend myself and others too from the party, and they were the ones who even refused myself a seat, when as a regularly elected delegate, I tried to advance the interests of the wage-working class in the Trades Council. But, the actual point proven by the article of "Der Herold" is: To the idea of the "Freethinkers" (?) it is safe for S. L. P. to accept anybody who applies for membership no matter whether he wishes to work for socialism within the party or for anything else. To ask a pledge from them to be true and consistent in their action for the principle and for the party as an organization that stands first and all the time for the emancipation of the wage-workers from wage slavery, is wrong in their opinion. And, still, as shown by the letter from Reichwald, afterwards these people are not mainly enough to hold themselves and themselves only, responsible for any failure that may result from their unprincipled action. But "Der Herold" in that same article proves another point. It says: "Does Mr. Meyer believe, probably, that a paper, the editorial tone of which would be controlled by him, that such a paper could exist?" The "Herold" proves

here, therefore, that the tone of the paper was not dictated primarily by principle, but by the chance to make an existence. Now, it is clear, in this case, that the one or the other can only be the primary ruling consideration in an organization: either the interest of the wage-working class, and the emancipation from wage-slavery of this class, is the ruling consideration in our action, or the interest of an individual paper, an individual existence of an editor or manager, and the individual's hobby are the ruling and primary predominating considerations. "Der Herold" in that same article shows, furthermore, that it speaks the opinion of the Social Democratic organization of that time, and, judging by the wind-up of the article, it was even inspired by them, because it ends with an announcement that "the S. L. P. of Detroit" will celebrate its 25th anniversary on the Sunday following.

The people that I have up to now considered are the elements that went into the make-up of the present Socialist Party, and, hence, it is their principle that is predominating in the organization; it crops up at every occasion. This "broadness," inconsistency, or, rather, this unprincipledness, makes them jump on a consistent advocate of class-conscious action at one time because he antagonized a notorious individualist or anarchist, and it is this same unprincipledness that makes them jump onto the anarchists whenever they get in trouble with a stronger enemy. It is this unprincipledness that makes an Eastman write in favor of a scheme intended to muzzle the wage-working class. This he did in an article published in the "Evening News" of Sept. 23, 1900. Now with all this proof produced to prove conclusively where the Socialist Party stands, it seems to me that we must all see the Socialist Party is not standing for the emancipation of the wage-working class from wage-slavery, and every word of what I said I can prove by documentary evidence that all those who wish may see right here.

But now look again at the consistency of the men of the Socialist Party. When they still belonged to the Socialist Labor Party, E. Goldman spoke here one time for the Central Labor Union, and she denounced the Socialist Labor Party from the C. L. U.'s platform for standing for class political action of the working class for their emancipation. But when the organizer, which happened to be myself, denounced the C. L. U. for its general unprincipledness as well as for getting speakers here to denounce the Socialist Labor Party for them, then, mind you, these would-be believers in the Socialist Labor Party and in political action, by and for the wage working class, jumped onto the very person who had defended their professed principles and their party by hitting back at the C. L. U. and the enemies of the Socialist Labor Party; they jumped on him by declaring his remarks uncalled for and unwarranted. At that time the C. L. U. and anarchism came first in their consideration, they were dearer to them than the Socialist Labor Party and its principles, and, now, while some of the most consistent anarchists are in trouble, now McKinley, the leader of outspoken capitalism, is dearer to them than even the C. L. U. and anarchism. This is another sample of the reliability of the men who organized the Socialist Party. As to the scheme by which it is intended to muzzle the wage working class, Eastman recommended the application of the beggar ordinance to "the spouters" on the campus. He supported suppression under the sham or cover of the application of a subterfuge. The constitution guarantees every man unabridged freedom of speech and religion. He who encourages in any manner suppression of any of these rights, he works into the hands of the capitalist class, which class is always on the lookout for a chance to shut the mouths of those who are dissatisfied. If they can abridge the right to assemble in such a manner that they can keep us from expressing our opinions on the street, they can abridge it by forbidding everyone of us to express our opinions or grievances while we are walking on the sidewalk. The place where the abridgment takes place cuts no figure, nor does the person cut a figure; the fact that a citizen is prevented from expressing his views, leaves open the chance to choose any person and any place for interference. This is a move in the direction of preventing the wage working class from emancipating themselves, and Eastman has been guilty of encouraging this scheme; but, anyhow, they despise the wage working class; the very fact that the word "labor" is dropped by them out of the name of their "SOCIALIST" (?) "PARTY" proves this.

Eastman.
The chairman announced that George Eastman would speak 40 minutes for the Socialist Party. Eastman declared that he had nothing or little to reply because he did not wish to reply to a personal debate. He had not come to get votes and he did not talk to get votes for himself. He wanted the merits of the Socialist Party platform discussed, of the platform that was originally his platform, of the platform that had been written by himself; he did not care about the merits of the leaders. The capitalist parties had followed the example set by the Socialist Labor Party, they had copied putting up "good men" from the Socialist Labor Party. He did not want and did not believe in leadership, because the individual is not the whole organization, and the action of the leaders of an organization is not the action of the whole organization. "A party," he said, "stands for a principle, and I want to find out where our principle, which is expressed in our platform, stands against the interest of the wage working class; where that is against the emancipation of the working class from wage slavery." "But," said he, "I agree with much of what Comrade Meyer said. I admit that Chappel was wrong." After he had admitted, furthermore, in his speech, that he had not known what he took a stand against when he sided with Chappel, and after he had admitted that he had been entirely ignorant of the class objects and principles of the S. L. P. when he took a stand against the class struggle, after he had, furthermore, acknowledged that young fellows, to whom the word socialism had been strange and unknown six months previous, could understand questions regard-

ing municipal ownership of street cars, etc., better than the 25-year-old "war horses," and after he had again asked the audience to place no confidence in leaders, he asked that the rest of his reply be given to him afterwards. (He spoke 15 minutes in all, and his time amounted to 40 minutes, hence he had 25 minutes left.)

The chairman announced that Herman Richter would now speak 20 minutes for the side of the Socialist Labor Party.

Richter.
Mr. Chairman, workmen and women: The debate of this afternoon regarding the attitude of the Socialist Party, and its effect upon the emancipation of the working class from wage slavery, is not a waste of time, as some would have us believe; nor is it trivial and only the opportunity to air personal whims and spite, as others, who ought to know better, have expressed themselves. It is not true, nor is it sufficient to apply the name socialism to a certain thing or condition and immediately it is socialism. Nor does a person become a socialist by calling himself such; no more so than "Paris Green" would become wheat flour by the grocer labeling it such. Any one who knows and will refuse to be misled, it is his duty to stand for Paris Green when it is needed to stand for wheat flour. Their physical conditions, their looks and make up enable us to distinguish between the two. So we see, in order to be able to judge anything, whether it be flour or socialism, we must know what it is or looks like, otherwise we are liable to be cheated and suffer in consequence. What is socialism? What is a socialist party? We must have answered ourselves these questions, otherwise we might easily be roped in by some cunning schemer. Socialism, modern, scientific socialism is a condition of society where the means of production and distribution are owned by the whole nation or people; consequently, every able bodied person has an equal opportunity to participate in the co-operative work; receiving in return the equivalent of what he or she contributed to the whole. To bring about such condition must be the mission of a socialist party. What is the work it must perform in accordance with its aims? Where is it to recruit the forces for the task of replacing capitalism by socialism? To-day we are living under capitalist rule. History teaches that whenever a new form of society came into existence it came as the active work of that part of society which suffered most under the previous system; they had no other alternative to remedy the evil. A struggle, conscious or unconscious—took place between the opposing interests. That the wage worker to-day is the one suffering most under capitalism must be evident even to the most superficial observer; being numerically the strongest, and bearing on his back the whole of society, he must be the one to organize and create the power to overthrow the capitalist form of society and rearrange it so as to prevent further exploitation. How can this be accomplished? The capitalist class teaches the lesson! It brings all its power and influence to work to saturate the whole human race with the ideas and notions, actions and words which uphold and perpetuate their system of exploitation; so must the effort of a real socialist party be centered in the upholding and fostering of the class interests of the wage working class exclusive of all other interests now existing. The position the wage worker occupies under capitalist rule must be the base for action of the socialist movement. It is the fact which political economy brings home to the worker that notwithstanding that labor is the only source of all economic value, the wage workers receive only a small portion of it in the shape of wages—hardly sufficient to keep him in working condition. All value created above that amount falls into the lap of the idle capitalist class, not owing to their superior ability and the lack of such on the part of the worker, but owing to the present organization of society which places the worker in the category of commodities. It then follows that an organization claiming to represent the interest of the wage worker must be in opposition to capitalist society; this factor must uphold and keep it in existence, and it must show itself not only by the words it utters, but it must prove it by its deeds and action. Time forbids to go into detail about its origin. Only in passing let us notice that the Socialist Labor Party was in existence at the time of the organization of the Social Democratic party. Its organizers did not then, nor have they to this day, proven that the S. L. P. did not represent the interest of the wage worker; if they had it would have given some justification for the "new organization." They did not, but on the contrary they acknowledged their ignorance of the factors involved in the fight between the wage worker and the capitalist class by claiming to inaugurate "American socialism." Well, its history proved quickly, as demonstrated by its various reorganizations, and that it started from wrong premises, and a total failure was the result. With its departure it carried the false notions about American, German or French socialism, and attested to the fact that there can be only one socialism growing out of a capitalist society in whatever country or nation it may exist.

The saying, "born of ignorance it lived a life of shame" may not be out of place in this instance, but, then, after all, let us see what it is to-day after its many reorganizations, in its present united form under various names; known in Detroit as Socialist party. Let us take its platform. To the superficial observer it may present a fairly good analysis of capitalism, but a closer inspection, and its attitude towards the Trades Unions movement characterizes it as a reform movement, which is more glaringly brought to light by the action and utterances of that party and its members all over the country and of this city. In a resolution adopted at their National convention, they congratulate the trades unionist pure and simple for "nobly waging the class struggle," and this in the face of the naked fact that the existence of organization denies the existence of different class interests, as demonstrated again in the late National convention of the "American Federation of Labor," and more recently by the "Civic Convention" in New York where the capitalists and their parsons worked hand in hand with the labor

fakirs "to do" the workmen. They prate openly about the identity of interest and explain the so often occurring strikes and lockouts as only a falling out between "brother capital and labor," resulting from a misunderstanding. A misunderstanding, indeed, but it is one that acts like a pillar to capitalist society. A real Socialist party, having for its first consideration the interest of the working men as a class, will not decorate and glorify such action by applying the phrase "they nobly wage the class struggle," but they will at once proceed to knock down this support of capitalism by exposing the fraud it is, and by showing the real condition. But here we find this so-called Socialist party glorifying it to win the good will of capitalist blinded workmen, fearing to antagonize it if it should state the plain truth. Is this preparing the wage-worker for his emancipation? But we are successful at election time; look how our vote increased, I hear some one answer. Granted, you have increased your vote, but how did you do it and at what cost? In New Jersey a candidate of your party was also the candidate of the Republicans and Democrats. The "famous" Carey of Massachusetts, with his sympathetic heart for the welfare of the hirelings of capitalism, why should his vote not increase?

But I ask you, does a vote for such an attitude denote a consciousness of the workers of their class interest? What of the member of your party who, in San Francisco accepted the office of election commissioner from the hands of a capitalist Mayor and using the so-obtained power to prevent the exercise of the franchise by the Socialist Labor party?

Happily, the nemesis of traitors works swiftly. In that very city the trades unionists waged the class struggle so nobly by electing a capitalist Mayor that it swept this Socialist party into nothingness.

How are we of the Socialist party of Detroit, and Michigan responsible for the traitorous attitude of our fellow members in other states? I hear the opponents shout in unison: we stand for Michigan, for Detroit, for Socialism! Wherein does it differ, I ask? Is the support given by us to Erb or Herzog to a capitalist municipalization scheme of street car service different—and not detrimental to the emancipation of the wage-worker as the cry for lower taxation and a boom in real estate which the candidate of your party for Mayor of Chelsea, Massachusetts, advanced as a reason for voting the ticket of the Social Democracy? Is it beneficial to a strong organization of the working class, which is essential to their successful emancipation, when the local editor and member in chief of Section Detroit, Socialist party, cries: "Damn the constitution of the party; the personal intellect must be superior." Is not the essence of this cry the denial of all organization, and at par with the argument of the capitalist defending his parasitical position? And what of you young or old adherents of the party in question, does not your silent acquiescence and the continuation of your membership make you part and parcel of the whole? Your excuse that bossism in the S. L. P. prevents your affiliation with it, let me say it is only a poor defence of one who is influenced by the external appearance of a movement where only the underlying principle should govern one's action. It, nevertheless, does not clear you of the charge of giving aid and comfort to the enemy of the working class.

In conclusion let me state the Socialist party does not stand for the emancipation of the working class from wage slavery; 1st, because it suppresses the truth so as to keep the good will of the capitalist blinded workmen and the fakir who leads them, as instance before; 2nd, it stops short in its agitation through its public speakers and press by criticizing capitalist society and pointing out Socialism as something good, yet, leaving its realization to the unknown, when it should point out the way to proceed, and gather the workers into a grand political and economic organization, as dictated by the material interests of the wage-workers as a class, and then train them for their mission; 3rd, its loose organization and harmonizing attitude leads to compromise and treason, as enumerated previously, causing confusion and pessimism, resulting from the weak-kneed position it takes; 4th, as the working class have in the Socialist Labor party and the Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance a political and economic organization, both by right of priority and by strict adherence to the dictations of the class interests of the wage-workers, another Socialist party is unnecessary and useless, except, perhaps, in so far as it attests to the sound and correct position of the former.

Workingmen and women of Detroit, stop your waste of energy and time by upholding a bad imitation at best, when your joining the real organization of your class, the S. L. P. and the S. T. & L. A., will speed the day for the final overthrow of the system of exploitation, capitalism.

The chairman announced that Wm. E. Walter would speak 20 minutes for the Socialist Party.

William E. Walter.
The speaker began by stating that he admired the argument of the last speaker, that he had been logical and convincing, but he wanted to know whether or not it had been an argument and whether it had been convincing. He said: If a party like the Social Democracy could not develop, Socialism itself could not stand. The Social Democracy started as a colonization scheme; it has developed into a political party, and so far as I can see, it stands for the same principles the Socialist Labor party stands for. The difference is in the tactics adopted and we don't claim that men who are no wage-workers are not going to bring about Socialism. If the wage-workers only can bring about Socialism then Bernstein can not be a Socialist, then Hyndman can not be a Socialist, and then, many other leaders, even Wiltshire, can't be a Socialist. As to Freethinkers they don't want to allow them in their organization. Why should not they join to propagate their ideas out the party? Instead of keeping them out they should convert them to their beliefs. They knock at them, they throw them out, they believe in hitting every head that shows itself, they want to knock out their brains and we want to put brains into them. I was told

that they (the old fellows) were all thrown out because a lot of young fellows, who could not possibly be Socialists because they could not possibly know enough, were brought into the Section to outvote them. They brought children into the Section to outvote the others. Labels don't tell but action does; the argument made by Meyer about not using the word "labor" in our party name is answered by themselves. Paris Green labeled wheat flour does not become any different from what it is. We know we have freaks and fakirs in our ranks; we have lots of them and we admit it but there are any number of them in the Socialist Labor Party, but you won't admit it. Yes, and they are right under Uncle Dan's nose, too, at that.

There are many Socialists who would not belong to either party; the clearest Socialists are not affiliated with any of the parties; they are not in the Socialist Labor Party, but they would not try to get justice from a capitalist police court. It could bring that point up if I wanted to show who is class-conscious and who is not.

We want the workmen to unite, and to get them to unite we educate them on Socialism. The S.L.P. reminds me of a servant girl who was too busy wiping up the overflow of the sink to think of turning off the faucet. When her mistress asked her why she did not shut off the faucet so that she could wipe up the water, she answered that she could not because she had no time as the water was running over the sink so fast. Therefore, he advised the S.L.P. to stop wiping up the overflow, the fakirs, long enough to shut off the source from whence the fakirs came, and that source was ignorance. He said: "The Socialist party is doing that." (Eastman allowed Walter five minutes of his time before Walter was done.)

The chairman thereupon announced that Eastman had fifteen minutes more to close up, but Eastman corrected him by saying that he had used only in all twenty minutes of his time. Eastman called attention that the agreement was that nothing new could be brought in in the last five minutes. It had to be used as a review of the preceding points made, or the corrections. He stated, furthermore, that he had not opposed free speech, but had simply written an article urging the application of the begging ordinance to the religionists who held meetings on the campus. He thought that if they could not beg, they would not go down there. The rest of his talk was of the same style as given before in his first fifteen minutes, and was simply an imitation of the S.L.P.'s arguments—whatever it was not a repetition of his own former statements. He explained that Michigan has its own election laws, and wanted to justify autonomy of principle on the strength of that, however, further than that he did not attempt to contradict a word of what had been said by the S.L.P. speakers. He claimed that he was out only for the purpose of educating the workmen. (Eastman used his twenty minutes up.)

Thereupon the chairman announced that Meyer would close with ten minutes. Meyer read from his paper the part of his speech referring to the "freethinkers," and showed that Walters had been trying to misquote or misinterpret Meyer's statements; that he had not excluded "freethinkers" from fitness for membership, but that instead of "freethinkers"—so-called—being the first consideration, Socialism should be the first consideration for fitness of membership in a party claiming to be Socialist. He then asked: "Where would Socialism stay if everything should be accepted in the ranks of the party claiming to be Socialist in preference to Socialism itself, as Walters would have us do?" The point is that we have to be consistent. Meyer then showed that both speakers had admitted everything that had been said on the side of the S.L.P., that they had acknowledged that they were shifting their position in proportion as the consistent tactics forced them to retreat from their formerly assumed "improbable position," and that they had admitted that they had been wrong in this manner giving credit to the S.L.P.'s consistent stand for having won out anyhow. As to "leaders" as "personal equities," and principle as being the only consideration, Meyer stated that he did not know who should be considered a "good socialist" if it was not the man who by his actions does everything in his power to actively help in bringing about socialism, even if only his vote is all he can help; he thought that the best socialist was the man who did most for bringing about socialism, and who was actively organizing and educating the working class for that purpose. So far as he could see, the S.L.P. was doing that work; but, may be, the Republican party contained the best Socialists, or, probably, in the estimation of the "Social Democracy" or "Socialist Party," John D. Rockefeller was a better Socialist than those who belonged to the S.L.P. because the accumulation of that which labor is robbed of, is the most successful work to be done at present to bring about Socialism; or, maybe, shooting down strikers or building factories is the most successful work, because it affords a more intensified exploitation of labor, and hence, a more intense concentration of capital; and to that by the ex-deputy sheriff, Hoehn, the member of the N. E. C. of the S. P., and to Judge by Armory-bulldozers Carey, and to Judge by the fusionists with capitalism of different places, that was the Socialist Party's conception of the good qualities necessary to make a "good socialist." But as to the action of such men as Hoehn, who was a deputy sheriff during the street car strike in St. Louis, and Carey, and all tools of capitalism in the ranks of the S. P., if that party refuses to "sit-down" on the action of such men, the party itself becomes the responsible party, and its position must then be judged by the position of the tools of capitalism in its ranks.

As to Bernstein, and other men who are wage-workers, being able to be Socialists, Meyer stated that he had said before and he stood by that right along, that if a man was not a wage-worker and claimed to be a Socialist, he should prove it by upholding squarely the interests of the wage-working class. As to children voting in Section Detroit at anytime, a

statement had been made by Walter on mere hearsay, and the fact was that in reality the shoe pinched on the other foot. He said that every one who had voted on the side of the class-conscious element, on the side of the present Section that they had all been able to give the other fellows lessons in socialism; and everyone had been a legally admitted member; but such had not been the case with the other side, who had refused to show the books to the organizer, so as to be able to hide information on how many members were voting illegally on their side. But, such misrepresentation could be expected from from their side, because he had proven conclusively several times before, they were unreliable in what they said.

As to the S. L. P. trying to get justice in a capitalist police court, he said that the S. L. P. believed in getting positive proof for their claim that the justice meted out by our present courts is class justice; and so as not to be forced to throw around with mere empty phrases, and merely blow off wind, the S. L. P. took up the active fight against capitalism, even if they had to take their cases in the capitalist class controlled courts; so that, with the evidence thusly obtained they could turn around and knock down capitalism by drawing away the workers from the capitalist parties by the exhibition of the positive evidence that the workers can not expect justice from and under capitalism. "We go in to the capitalist courts because we do not believe that wind and phrases alone are sufficient, and we believe consistency is the hardest, but it is, also, the main part of socialist agitation." As to the argument about the label "labor" not making a consistent party of the S. L. P., but that the Party's action is the only thing to determine its actual worth, Meyer said that the argument on the side of the S. L. P. had been that consistency, actual deeds, was the thing that determined the principle of a party in the real analysis, and that, since they claimed that the word "labor" was of no essential worth without the deeds being present to back up the word or name, their own argument had knocked out that claim of theirs while, at the same time, they tried to pick on the S. L. P. for insisting on consistent action.

As to the claim that we have freaks and fakirs right under "Uncle Dan's nose," Meyer said the S. L. P. is consistent because when it discovers a freak or a fakir, it will not shield him; it keeps its ranks clear so far as we are able to discover that men place other considerations over the welfare of the S. L. P. as a party whose mission it is to organize the wage workers politically for the overthrow of capitalism; and because the S. L. P. does not do this, it does not stand for the emancipation of the working class from wage slavery.

THE REBEL.

[Written for THE PEOPLE by Francis Dunscombe, Cuba.]

Custom and Law sat down to murder a little child
In a chamber vast and grand;
To that chamber dark and wide,
Came that sated infant soul, so innocent and mild.

Sneering a pompous sneer, smiling a wicked smile,
Neath their purple canopy,
From their throne of cruel guile,
Eying the wondering innocent, that laughed and played the while,—

Custom and Law have sworn, 'fore their Ministers around,
(Dim shapes at formal distance
With their faces toward the ground),
That that soul be starved and tricked,
and tortured, seared and bound.

Custom and Law hold Court to sentence a little child;
And the only light that shines
In that chamber grand and wide
Is that shining naked soul, with its peaty radiance mild.

(The Accusation.)
"This is the natural pool, this is the rebel, Mind;
"Tis rebel against our sway,
"And a lover of its kind;
"Death for the rebel soul,—a death is dumb and deaf and blind!"

(The Sentence.)
Law with contemptuous sneer, Custom with toad-like grin:
"Endow the weakling soul
"With conservative kin;
"Starve and trick the budding soul;
teach it to love is sin.

"Proud of tribe and land, slave of the god of gain;
"Tortured with loveless lust;
"Thy mating shall end in shame,—
"Trade and shame thy mating shall be,—
a scold, a hate, a ban!"

"Creed shall stifle deed, deed be a slave with creed,
"And love the slave of law;
"Shalt buy men for their need,
"Peril them in a vast machine, and laugh to see them bleed;

"Never an honest God, or mysterious Absolute,—
"But always blaspheming fables
"In the image of the brute;
"Life shall be a tread-mill artifice,—be empty and mute.

"Corpse-like and blind, shalt stare at life, till life be o'er;
"Shalt wonder at all simple joys:
"The simple life,—the sandal floor;
"The lawless love; the useful pleasant task;
"The earnest simple creed, free from all priestly lore."

SHE leered at HIM,—(both wrinkled and yellow and old), . . .
The beautiful spirit went, already changed;
That place of pomp and state grew dark and cold.

Custom leered at Law: both laughed; 'twas a tale oft-told!

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COMPULSORY ARBITRATION.

HOW IT WORKS IN THE AUSTRALASIAN COLONIES.

A Capitalist Scheme That Benefits Capitalists Only—Authority Dictates Wages—Court Decisions Enforced Against Workmen While Employers Cheat the Law.

Since the establishment of the "industrial peace" movement, represented by Mark Hanna for the capitalists on the one hand, and by Samuel Gompers representing labor fakirism on the other, much has been heard about "arbitration" in general, and of the compulsory arbitration of New Zealand in particular.

Last year the government of New South Wales sent a Commission to New Zealand to investigate the workings of the Compulsory Arbitration Act. Judge Backhouse, the Commissioner, rendered a report in the authorities, which is in a report of his favorable and even highly favorable. The Commissioner says he interviewed about 500 New Zealanders—ministers and legislators, judges connected with the administration of the act, members of chambers of commerce, bankers, manufacturers, mining managers, and representatives of labor fakirism. There is no account of his having interviewed workmen.

The Judge reports that while New Zealand is not exactly "a country without strikes," there has been none of any magnitude since the act came into operation in 1894. Boards and courts have fixed the rates of wages, the hours of labor, the number of apprentices, the proportion of wage workers and pieceworkers, and in some trades regulated all the details of production. The authority of government has been exerted to remove what little "freedom of contract" remains to the worker under capitalism.

At first some employers were hostile to the act, but since they have realized the benefits that accrue to them from it, there are no employers now not favorably disposed to the act. These benefits have been gained to the employers without the friction that strikes would have generated. The employers say that by settling the rates of wages for a fixed period the statute has enabled them to enter into contracts with the certainty that they will be able to fulfill them at the profits figured.

The testimony of the labor fakirs was of course favorable to the act, but one read between the lines of the Commissioner's report the effect of the law on the workers. While no act has averted strikes, disputes between employees have increased greatly.

Matters that under the old order of things would not have been deemed important enough to justify either a strike or a lockout must now be referred to the Boards of Conciliation. So frequent are the appeals to the arbitration tribunals that the Commissioner found that the Boards of Conciliation were a year behind with their work; and the Court of Arbitration hopelessly in arrears. The Arbitration act is a godsend to the New Zealand labor fakirs. It is only associated labor, i. e., unionized labor, that is amenable to the act. To gain the benefits of the act the employers insist on all their workmen being union men, thus the labor fakirs are always sure of having a big dues paying membership.

The capitalists of New Zealand told the New South Wales Commissioner that the law benefited labor more than it did capital. Their chief cause of complaint against the law was that it interfered too much with their business to be continually summoned before the Boards of Conciliation. Some said that no sooner had one award expired (they are all for a term) than they were ordered to resist or submit to another and some of the more powerful employers intimated that they would rather whip their employees in a strike and have done with it.

From this it is evident that the labor fakirs and the politicians make business when otherwise it is not brisk. The Premier of New Zealand in a public utterance gave warning of this "abuse of the act by the workmen." He said that the whole scheme of employers was riding the act to death.

The New South Wales Commissioner claims that the act is responsible for the "high" wages prevailing in New Zealand. In the next breath he says the "high" wages are due to the high colonial tariff which kills foreign competition, and causes an increase in exports. It is also pointed out that the government has borrowed millions from England to carry out the "various socialistic schemes of the colony." These things he claims have produced good times in New Zealand. The workers are warned not to endanger the good times by "exactng too much" from capital.

The report of the Commissioner has borne fruit in New South Wales. In the enactment of a compulsory arbitration act. It is reported that the Commissioner has been appointed a judge of the court.

Australia is following in this respect, as in other, the footsteps of New Zealand. A similar act was passed a year ago in Western Australia, and as stated above New South Wales has also adopted an arbitration act. Latest advices state that the matter is under discussion in Victoria.

The new laws aim to remove the chief defects of the New Zealand act, among them the incessant litigation. They require that, before proceedings are taken, a substantial sum shall be deposited as security, and that the smaller amounts shall obtain the consent of the council or industrial association with which they are affiliated.

When the decision of the courts is against the employers they immediately set about cheating the law. In a few trades the increase in wages has been so slight as to make it not worth while for the employers to bother about it, but in others, where a 10 or 12 per cent. increase was ordered it paid to get around the law. Cases have been found in which the employer and worker agreed upon an illegal rate, and while the legal minimum is paid, the excess is returned to the employer. In other trades the

workers are made to reside in the shop or factory, and are charged exorbitantly for their board. Inside workers are paid for fewer hours than they work, and outside workers for fewer articles than they produce.

The operations of the Shops and Factories Acts and the Compulsory Arbitration Acts have disastrous consequences on the small capitalists. When they go to the wall they raise a howl against the so-called socialism. The middle class press blames the enactment of the laws on the working class, while in fact these laws are entirely capitalist.

It is not unlikely that the outcome of the Hanna-Gompers partnership will be legislative enactments, which will throw the Australasian compulsory arbitration acts into the shade.

THE ANTHRACITE SITUATION.

Is Miners' Threat to Strike, the Prelude to Morgan's Merger?

The National Convention of United Mine Workers, which is being held at Indianapolis, on Tuesday, adopted a resolution ordering an assessment for a strike fund, which it is claimed will produce \$23,288 per month. The resolution also sets forth that 150,000 miners in the anthracite fields have tried to obtain conditions of amicable conferences with operators, but that the latter have refused to meet with them. Also that an effort shall be made to bring the anthracite operators into conference, but should this fail and a strike result the mine workers' organization is to give all needed financial support.

It is an open secret that Morgan is at work on a plan to merge all of the anthracite coal railroads. Morgan interests already own or control 50 per cent. of the total tonnage. Last year the independent roads maintained rates as firmly as the combination. One reason for this was that the demand for coal was brisk last year. About 10,000,000 more tons of coal was marketed in 1901 than in 1900. All of the roads have increased their equipment expecting that the demand for coal would not only keep up, but increase. With a lesser demand for coal, rate cutting is sure to follow and the increased use of oil as fuel is sure to affect the coal market. The combine will not allow rate cutting if it can help it. If the independents make the break the combine will cut under them and then allow the independents to carry coal at a loss. A strike in the mines of the independents would also cripple them and help the combine.

Anthracite railroad officers in this city pretend to be apprehensive of new disturbances in the mining districts, or at least a period of unsettlement, until a basis for a new agreement has been arrived at for the coming year. At present the miners are working under the terms which were announced in October, 1900, and were according to the railroads' announcements, to continue in force until April 1 next. The railroads claim they are perfectly willing to continue the present rates of wages and general mining regulations, in force, and are willing to regulate any grievances which the miners may present, and prove to be hardships. They do not, however, believe there are any conditions relating to mine working which need correction, and they are opposed to granting any further advances in wages; they will resist the eight-hour day as "unpracticable," and are determined, at the present time at present, not to officially recognize President John Mitchell of the United Mine Workers, or his union. Of course this may all be in the nature of a bluff to fool the independents.

Is Mitchell getting ready to sacrifice the rank and file of his organization to another Mitchell "victory" in other words, a trust victory, should be the question for consideration by the miners of the anthracite region.

German "Retaliation" Talk.

Berlin, Jan. 29.—"The feeling of Germany is for tariff war rather than for tariff peace," said Baron Heyl zu Hirschhausen (Liberal), debating before the Tariff Commission his motion requiring the presentation of certificates of the origin of imports. "The only way to deal with America and the British colonies is, he said, 'to answer with tariffs as high as theirs.' To answer von Kanitz (Conservative) replying to Baron Heyl zu Hirschhausen agreed that the sentiment of the country favored retaliation upon the United States. Herr Wermuth, who was the German representative at the Chicago exposition, and who is now director of commercial affairs in the Ministry of the Interior, begged the committee to reject the motion of Baron Heyl zu Hirschhausen, because it was practically impossible.

Reading Cats of Middlemen.

Philadelphia, Jan. 29.—The Reading Company has just issued an order, effective February 1, which provides that no orders for anthracite coal will be accepted by the company from commission men for delivery at points on the main line between Bridgeport and Schuylkill Haven or on the Chester Valley, Pickering Valley and Colebrookdale branches. In addition to this curtailment of the operations of the middlemen, the company, after the first of the year, made contracts direct with a number of large consumers of steam sizes for their year's supplies. It is thought that the next move will probably be in the direction of controlling the trade in this city.

Permanent Census Bureau.

Washington, Jan. 29.—In accordance with instructions from the House the Committee on Census to-day reported a new bill for the establishment of a permanent Census Bureau. It provides for the continuance in office of the present officers and employees after July 1, 1902, at which date the act is to take effect. All employees above the grade of skilled laborer in service at the date the act is approved will be covered into the civil service and all new appointments shall be made pursuant to the civil service law. Salaries are fixed as follows: Directors, \$5,000; chief statisticians (three), \$2,500; chief clerk, \$2,000; disbursing and appointment clerk, \$2,100; expert chiefs of division (three), \$1,800.

Delegates Charged With Bribery.

St. Louis, Feb. 1.—Warrants have been issued against F. A. Faulkner and Julius Lehmann, of the House of Delegates, charging them with bribery in connection with alleged bribery.

THE FIELD OF LABOR

Individuality.

Socialism, according to its capitalist opponents, will destroy individuality. It will, say they, build up a bureaucracy that will destroy individual initiative, responsibility and reliance, and make of the working class a class of dependents, who will be utilized as the machinations and the interests of the bureaucracy may direct.

Democratic Socialism.

It has been repeatedly shown from the political, social and religious demands of the Socialists, together with illustrations from the practical workings of their organizations, that the ideal of Socialism is fraternal and democratic; and that contrary to the claims of its capitalist opponents Socialism is that form of social and industrial organization in which the individual's qualities will be developed and expanded with the aid of all the resources of evolution.

Bureaucratic Capitalism.

How is it, though, with Capitalism? Does it tend to develop an individuality that is independent of its bureaucracy? the directorates at the head of its vast consolidations and incorporations? Does it develop an individual initiative, responsibility or reliance that is not primarily used in the interests of that bureaucracy, and not in the interests of the individual in which it is developed? Does it not attempt to debauch and subvert every movement composed of individuals that is opposed to it? Does it not place itself at the head of every such movement, so that it may lead the movement to destruction or a life of activity in its interests?

The answers to these questions are obvious. Capitalism does not tend to develop an independent individuality; nor does it develop initiative, responsibility and reliance for any other than bureaucratic or capitalist interests. But capitalism does attempt to debauch and subvert every movement composed of individuals opposed to its interests, and to utilize such movements in its own behalf. This is shown in the Hanna-Gompers debauchery and subversion of the trades-union movement in this country and the Waldeck-Rousseau-Miller and debauchery and subversion of the Socialist movement in France.

The Tendency to Suppress Individuality.

It is not sufficient to answer the first two questions above in the negative; it is further necessary to prove them. With this object in view the following facts, relating to the highest type of capitalist development in this country—the United States Steel Corporation—are herewith given:

When Chas. M. Schwab, the President of the United States Steel Corporation, was in Paris in January last, he was interviewed by a representative of the Journal of Paris. In that interview when speaking of the rights of individuals in trusts, he said:

"It is true that the new methods have a tendency to suppress individuality and I admit that this merging of individual into collective energy is not without some drawbacks, for individuality is often of value and beneficial, inventive and creative. The man of talent must not be allowed to go under. Genius is a power in itself; to stifle it would be unnatural and dangerous. Thus, as regards our 'trust' we propose to devote a portion of our earnings toward encouraging in our work-shops, the initiative of the individual and the sentiment of responsibility. We have in mind to keep even the most promising of our workmen in the direction of becoming associates, as it were, in the concern. I want a participation in the profits of the company to be an integral feature of the new trusts. It will be open to each workman to know whether he can emancipate himself; get there, in other words."

Facility of Trying to Stop This Tendency.

From this quotation it will be readily seen that the tendency of capitalism is admittedly in the direction of the suppression of individuality. Further, it will as readily be seen that the very means proposed to combat this tendency are so used as to strengthen it. How, for instance, will individual initiative and responsibility be encouraged? Obviously under such influence and direction as will make the expenditure of the trust's funds profitable, by further promoting the interests of consolidation, which is admittedly "merging individual into collective energy." This is not merely an abstract deduction, but a statement warranted by fact. As has been shown in this column before, the few men who participate in the division of profits in the steel trust are the managers and petty bosses of departments. They are the men who devise and enforce the methods whereby the labor which crushes the individuality of thousands is intensified and more ruthlessly exploited. They are the men whose brutal exactions and commands go far toward suppressing the manhood in labor which is the highest expression of its individuality. Can the development of such men mitigate the evils—"the drawbacks"—of "the new trusts?"

Individuality is a Lie.

A well-known writer recently visited the Carnegie Mills at Homestead. While there he had an opportunity of witnessing its workshops in operation, under the guidance of the management. In describing the effects of the Schwabian policy on the Homestead workmen, he wrote:

"In fact during the two days that I was under the escort of the men in charge, I received only one unfavorable impression. This came from the spirit in which the workmen did their work. They were cheerless almost to the point of sullenness." This was in the mills; outside it was no different: "Some of the men seemed afraid to talk. Even the Catholic priest—to whose class I am accustomed to go for fair statements of the relations of men to their employers—was unwilling to make a statement. The absence of freedom resembled that of the small mining villages in the eastern part of the state." "No body in Homestead dared to join a union. The President (Schwab) said without reserve that he

THE FIELD OF CAPITAL

U. S. Steel Profits.

The report of the United States Steel "Trust," showing profits at the rate of \$100,000,000 a year was the feature of the week ending Saturday, February 1, in the Field of Capital.

This report demonstrates the economic value of consolidation as opposed to the wastes of competition—a system which the "impractical Socialists" predicted and strove to attain decades before industrial evolution forced "the hard-headed," "far-seeing" capitalists to adopt it as a matter of self-preservation. This demonstration will have an incalculable influence on consolidation of the world over. It leaves no doubt of the practicability and the profitability of large industrial undertakings organized in this form.

When the steel trust was projected it was predicted that it would fail. The successful financing of such a stupendous undertaking was regarded as impossible. The safe conduct of its affairs, it was said, would entail such enormous expenditures as to make it unprofitable. The "underwriting syndicate" which undertook the financing of the "trust," however was successful in its task. It is roughly estimated that its profits are 22½ per cent. on the subscription of \$200,000,000. On the amount paid in to the "trust"—\$25,000,000—the profits are 180 per cent. The entire net profit was \$56,500,000. From this it will be seen that consolidation "pays"—\$56,500,000 to the underwriters and \$100,000,000 to United States Steel corporation stockholders, the largest of which is Andrew Carnegie.

With such an incentive it is safe to assume that capitalists will hasten everywhere to declare in favor of "the general process of industrial amalgamation and conversion now in progress" in this country.

Morgan's Optimism.

J. Pierpont Morgan has come out against those capitalists who declare the tide of prosperity is turning from flood to ebb. He asks "Where is there sign of anything discouraging?" A man who has had his fingers in the Steel Trust pie to the tune of \$11,500,000—his firm's share of the underwriters syndicate's profits—can indeed see no discouraging sign, he is over his ears in gold. But, it may be asked: "Is not this clamor for trade expansion a discouraging sign?" Is not the abnormal production now going on in this country, and likely to be accentuated by increased consolidations, a discouraging sign? Or is it possible to continue this indefinitely, without producing a glut, a panic, a crisis? The exports figures of 1901 are not encouraging in this particular. They show a decrease in value in five staple articles, viz., iron, steel, cotton, corn and mineral oils, aggregating \$100,000,000. There is a falling off in the exports to European countries hardest hit by "our" expansion—amounting to \$17,000,000.

When these facts are duly considered, the belief that prosperity is perpetual and that capitalism is free from the fat years and the lean years of scripture, appears entirely unfounded.

would discharge any man for this offense."

The same writer quoted a workman who said, "I don't know any roller over forty . . . I have known old rollers, but they are all gone. . . . An old man cannot be anything but a sweep." Upon which the writer remarks:

"This observation agreed pretty well with what I myself had seen in the mills. . . . It is possible, therefore, that the 'increase of production' that seems to come from men working twelve hours a day is more than lost through enforced idleness at middle age. Moderate work until fifty-five might produce more material good—as well as healthy and better men—than excessive work till even forty-five, followed by a protracted old age of partial idleness and frequent dependence." What a picture of capitalist "independence" and "individuality" is here exposed! What a fine light it throws, by the way, on the steel trust's "old age" schemes.

But that is not all—the writer gives facts to show that the work is growing harder and the hours longer, all of which gives that leisure so essential to individual development. "With the new machinery, less skill is needed, but closer attention." "We used to be able to, said Mr. . . . (here the writer again names the workman mentioned above), to take time to eat our meals like civilized human beings, but now we can only snatch a bite as we work. . . . Last Monday when my assistant stopped on account of trouble he got into, and I had a green hand to help me, I wasn't able for twelve hours to get from my post an instant, for any purpose." Whereupon the writer observed: "The Illinois Steel Company official said that the twelve hour day was always usual in blast furnaces, but that the eight-hour day was formerly common in steel works. Now the twelve hour day is almost universal in this country, while the eight-hour day is universal in England. Sunday labor, unknown in England." Sunday labor, wages were lower and it was necessary to toady to the management to get along, the Homestead workmen complained.

Since the above writer's visit conditions have not changed in Pittsburgh. They have grown worse. This is attested by the number of workmen who are killed in the steel mills. Labor has reached such a tension that life as well as individuality is being rushed. . . . The Coming Slavery. Herbert Spencer, years ago issued a pamphlet in which he described Socialism as "The Coming Slavery." The imaginary picture of bureaucratic dependence under Socialism which he drew, had many dark colors, but none so dark as the colors in the real picture of bureaucratic capitalism drawn by the writer quoted above.

Capitalism is the real opponent of individuality. Only under Socialism, with its abundant resources and opportunities, will individuality attain its greatest fruition.

Germany Approves Russia's Policy.

Pekin, Feb. 1.—America, England and Japan refuse to sign the Manchurian treaty because it grants preferential rights to Russia. Germany seems to approve Russia's policy which would give her an easy pretext for obtaining similar advantages in Shantung.

Trades & Societies' Directory

SECTION ESSEX COUNTY, S. L. P.
The County Committee, representing the Section, meets every Sunday, 10 a. m., in hall of Essex County Socialist Club, 78 Springfield avenue. Newark, N. J. 195

SECTION AKRON, OHIO, S. L. P.
Meets every first and third Sunday, at 2 p. m., at Kramer's Hall, 167 S. Howard st. Organizer, J. Koylin, 307 Barges st.

THE NEW JERSEY STATE COMMITTEE, S. L. P., meets 1st Thursday of the month, 8 p. m., at 78 Springfield ave., Newark. Cor. Sec. Louis Cohen, 10 Everett st., East Orange, N. J. Fie. Sec. A. P. Wittel, 60 Reschline ave., Newark, N. J.

WATERS' ALLIANCE "LIBERTY."
No. 19, S. T. & L. A. Office 257 E. Houston st. Telephone call, 2321 Spring. Meets every Thursday, 3 p. m. 498

NEW YORK MACHINISTS' LOCAL 274, S. T. & L. A., meets every 1st and 3rd Tuesday at 8 p. m., at 2 to 4 New-Heads street. Secretary Ed. McCormack. 408

SECTION HARTFORD, S. L. P., meets every Wednesday, 8 p. m., at S. L. P. Hall, 302 Main street.

S. T. & L. A. LOCAL NO. 307, meets second Thursday at above hall. Visitors are welcome.

SCANDINAVIAN SECTION, S. L. P., Branch 1, meets 2nd and 4th Sunday of month at 10 o'clock, a. m., at 235 E. 58th street. Subscription orders taken for the Scand. Socialist weekly, "Arbetaren." 429

SCANDINAVIAN SECTION, Branch 2, meets 1st and 3rd Sunday of month, at 3 p. m., at Linnea Hall, 310 Atlantic avenue, Brooklyn. 433

SOCIALIST LABOR PARTY CLUB, 14th Assembly District. Business meetings every Tuesday evening, 8 p. m., at Club rooms, southwest corner of 11th street and First avenue. Pool parlor open every evening.

SECTION LOS ANGELES, S. L. P., Headquarters and free reading room, 205½ South Main street. Public meetings every Sunday, 8 p. m., 107½ North Main street. People agent, L. C. Holler, 205½ South Main street.

NEW HAVEN, CONN., SOCIALIST LABOR PARTY meets every second and fourth Friday, 8 p. m., S. L. P. headquarters, 853 Grand avenue, Westville Branch meets every third Tuesday at St. Joseph's Hall. Visitors welcome.

SECTION CLEVELAND, OHIO, S. L. P., holds public agitation meetings every Sunday afternoon at 2.30 o'clock at 356 Ontario street, top floor.

HEADQUARTERS SECTION SOMERVILLE, S. L. P., 437 Somerville avenue, Somerville, Mass., will be open every evening and all day Sundays. Papers and books on Socialism for sale. Free reading room.

BUFFALO, N. Y., Section Erie Co., S. L. P., meets 1st and 3d Saturday, 8 p. m., in Florence Parlors, 527 Main, near Genesee st. Everybody welcome. Open-air meetings every Sunday evening, cor. Main and Church sts.

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SOCIALIST VOTE IN THE UNITED STATES.
In 1888..... 2,008
In 1892..... 21,157
In 1896..... 86,564
In 1900..... 34,191

The time is ripe and rotten-ripe for change; then let it come; I have no dread of what is called for by the instinct of mankind; Nor think I that God's world will fall apart; Because we fear a part is more or less.

LOWELL.

AND NOW IT IS NEWMAN WHO LAUGHS

When, eleven years ago, several human beings were killed in the New York Central tunnel, Chauncey M. Depew laughed. At least he cracked ghastly jokes, as frequently stated in these columns. He thought it was a good joke that he or his fellow "Director" should be held responsible, when, as a matter of fact they did not know the run of the trains, and directed nothing except conspiracies against the people. They were held under bonds, they were indicted, and they and their bondsmen laughed; and the Chamber of Commerce at whose banquet Depew appeared on that occasion, joined in guffaw. And, what is more, the Courts before whom the jokers were brought for trial, stood by them. The Courts did not laugh. They preserved a demure countenance; they remained imperceptibly judicial, as far as appearances went. Below the surface, however, they must have at least smiled. The "Directors," with Jester Chauncey at their head, went free. It was found that these gentlemen, who pose as "fellow workmen," didn't do any work; consequently, that they knew nothing of the condition of the road; consequently, that they could not be guilty. The guilty ones could only be the workmen on the road. They knew, because they ran the concern. And Depew went off laughing.

Now it is President Newman's turn. Levity characterized his demeanor at the Coroner's inquest. He even laughed. Why should not he? Has he not the recollection of twelve years ago? Has "The Law" changed any, or its administrators? Not in the least. It is his own class that now rules the roost, just as it did twelve years ago. Moreover, his case is stronger in his favor. "Vested Rights" is the mystic term with which the capitalist class seeks to mystify the working class. With the cloak of "Vested Rights" he seeks to cover over larger areas of misdeeds, and justify his right to indulge in them. By virtue of his "Vested Rights" pestiferous tenement houses are left standing; by virtue of his "Vested Rights" society is held back. "Vested Rights" howls every time a move is made against him. He acquires as a "Vested Right" the right to continue to do mischief. The public may now be prepared to hear President Newman, in case the farce is re-enacted of his being hauled up in Court, plead the "Vested Rights" of the Company to slaughter people in its tunnel. There is many a "Right" that the Capitalist pleads in justification that has not "Vested" as long as this tunnel Right.

Of course, President Newman laughs; and so does Depew; only this turn he laughs in the back-ground.

IN STEP WITH TAMMANY.

The conflict that has arisen between the city-is-our-home Mayor Low and the Rev. Parkhurst of the Society for the Prevention of Crime is a good deal more than a mere squabble. The point at issue looks trifling. But it is "trifling" that ever will be found at bottom of great conflagrations. The saloons are not closed on Sundays. The law says they shall be closed. The "reform" Mayor, who "was carried triumphantly into the City Hall on the crest of a wave of indignation against law-breaker Tammany," has been in office more than four Sundays, and the Sundays have been as wet (if not wetter) as during the palmiest days of "law-breaking Tammany." The Rev. Parkhurst sets up a screech and hurls a bolt at his, but recent, yet Low. The answer, elicited by the screech and bolt is the thing to be remembered. In approved "law-break-

ing Tammany" language, the anti-Tammany Mayor says he is doing "the best he can with the means at my command," and he adds that he does not consider himself bound "to single out one offense, concentrate upon that the whole police force, and leave all other crimes unattended to,"—exactly the expressions of the "wet-Sundays" Tammany that, during the trolley-men's strike three years ago, "singled out" the offense of workmen striving for better conditions, and "concentrated upon that the whole police force," cracking the men's heads, breaking their legs, rushing into the houses of the sympathizers with the strikers, trampling over their children, and terrorizing their women. Just exactly.

If, within four weeks of its existence, the city-is-our-home reform Administration can parallel the truly law-breaking Tammany so well, there is little doubt but that before the close of its one hundred and four weeks' term, circumstances aiding, it will come up abreast, if not clean ahead of Tammany, in forgetting all about the wrongfulness of "singling out" one offense; in exercising the same judicial power of the mutton-headed Tammany, and deciding that the striving for redress on the part of workmen is an "offense"; and in emulating the raw-boned Tammany by "concentrating" upon that "offense" the full Police forces at its command.

Watch and wait. No change that does not abolish the power of the capitalist class is other than a change of brutal "law-breaking" masters.

HANNA IS LOSING HIS TEMPER.

The president of the American Federation of Labor had better betimes put the brake down upon his ire against the Socialist Labor Party. At the rate he is going on he will simply strangle himself with rage. Once strangled, neither would he be able to relieve himself, nor the public to enjoy the spectacle.

It is now just about a year ago that Mr. Marcus (Aurelius or not Aurelius) Hanna uttered himself at a certain banquet on the Socialist Labor Party. The campaign of 1900 was just behind him, and the experience thereof inside of him. From his national executive committee he touched the button, the whole Republican press of the land blossomed out with articles booming the Social Democratic party. The pace was set by the personal organ of the chairman of the New York State Republican Committee. The Albany "Evening Journal" of October 9, 1900, in a lengthy article, pronounced the S. L. P. dead and the Social Democratic party the thing. According to it the S. L. P. would not be heard from after election. Similar articles, many of them illustrated, appeared in Republican papers elsewhere; and, like in the Butler campaign of 1884, the Republican party furnished the audiences to the Social Democratic party meetings to an extent that truly "taxed the largest halls." As in the campaign of '84, the Republican manoeuvre failed. In '84, Cleveland, who was thereby to be defeated, won out; in 1900, the S. L. P., which was to be smashed, bobbed up unsmashed, serenely, more resolute than ever for the fray; while the bogus Socialist party, with all its fly-paper attachments polled a ridiculous vote. The Hanna stomach felt ill. Speaking at the banquet referred to Mr. Hanna admitted the fact that the issue henceforth lay, not between Republicans and Democrats, but between the Republican party and the "dangerous Socialists." At that time, "dangerous Socialists" is the worst term that Mr. Hanna in his anger applied to the Socialist Labor Party that had survived all his manoeuvres.

A year passes. Mr. Hanna in the meantime makes another move. He reports to mystifications. He seeks to render sacrosanct the unhallowed altar of Capitalism at which he is a leading sacrifice of victims. To this end he seeks to cover that altar with the altar cloth of Labor. Such altar cloth is, of course, not to be had for any such purpose. He must look for a spurious "Labor" altar cloth, and he gets it from the crew that his Social Democratic party dummy had just burnt incense to as "nobly waging the class struggle." The hocus-poens is performed "under the auspices of the Civic Federation," and the Organized Scabbery is worshiped by capitalist Labor-deceit as "Labor." Now, assuredly, thought the Hanna college of priesthood, we have cornered and spiked the guns of the Socialist Labor Party. To render assurance doubly sure, the button is once more touched; in the language of Mr. Hanna himself, uttered here in New York:

"The metropolitan press of the country is unanimous in favor of this movement. I have thousands of editorials on the subject, clipped from papers of every degree, ranging from the metropolitan daily to the once-a-week country paper, and among the whole lot there are but two of these unfavorable articles, and these were clipped from a Socialist organ of a scurrilous nature."

Obviously is the experience of the campaign of 1900, over again. The but-

ton was touched, now as then; now as then, the manufactured response was highly satisfactory; but, now as then, the Socialist Labor Party declined to be hocus-pocussed, and, now as then, its voice was heard,—unpleasantly so for Mr. Hanna; so unpleasant, that he loses his temper. From designating the S. L. P. as "dangerous" in 1901, he now goes to the length of styling it "scurrilous."

The President of the A. F. of L. is losing his temper fast; he should curb it. "The President of the A. F. of L." is losing his temper.

Yes. But is it not Hanna who is shown to be losing his temper?

So it is.

But is not Gompers the President of the A. F. of L.?

Thou little knowest of things! Gompers was deposed and bought off with a Vice-Presidential bone. Hanna is today the actual President of the ramshackle concern.

RESPECT FOR THE DESERTFUL DEAD.

By a unanimous vote, the Committee of Ways and Means of the House of Representatives is to report a bill repealing almost wholly the Spanish war revenue taxes, making a total annual reduction of \$77,000,000. This is equivalent to an announcement of the death of the Spanish war taxes. It is with feelings of profound respect that the Socialist bears the announcement.

Wags have many a time declared that a Jay Gould does more for Socialism than all the Socialists combined. It was a humorous way of expressing the view embodied in the saying, "The best landlord is the worst," or in that other "the best way to repeal a bad law is to enforce it." But apart from the vagabondness of such expressions the plane on which they correctly place the "Jay Goulds," the "best landlords" and the "bad laws" is one that disqualifies them from being entitled to tokens of respect. One does not respect the evil-doer who achieves good despite himself. It is otherwise with the Spanish war tax. It worked no evil; it achieved, or was the occasion for achieving, immeasurable good.

Were it not for the Spanish war tax, the American Labor Movement would still be exposed to, perhaps, the most dangerous lure of the many calculated to side-track it, and to keep it to the ignoble role of cat's-paw for the capitalist "reformer." Nothing sounds so plausible as that "Labor pays the taxes." The statement seems to flow naturally from the Socialist principle that "Labor produces all wealth." It almost has a revolutionary ring. When uttered by the capitalist politician it, accordingly, could not fail to captivate. It regularly entrapped the workers. And that was its only purpose. The Spanish war tax gave occasion for the fraudulent slogan to be revived; and, as that bait caught the hair-brained gudgeons who had been masquerading as Socialists, and who, with Marx on their lips, had never read, let alone understood him, the slogan furnished the opportunity for the Socialist Labor Party to grapple with the fallacy and fraud. It was grappled with in a way that it never was, or could have been before. The fur and the sparks flew. When the conflict was over, the fraudulent slogan lay torn to tatters, and the floor was strewn with the fragments of the false economics and traitorous tactics that had bolstered it up. The thinking element in the Labor Movement emerged from the fray intellectually purified. They perceived that, altho' labor produces all wealth, nevertheless, under the capitalist system, Labor comes into possession of but a small fraction of its product; they perceived that that fraction is determined by the supply of and the demand for Labor in the Labor market; they perceived that it is out of the lion's share of their product, which they were plundered of in the shop and which they never saw, that the taxes were paid; consequently they perceived that the capitalist alone was interested in reducing the taxes, taxes being a drain upon his plunder from the workers. Enlightened to that point, the thinking element in the Labor Movement recognized that questions of taxation concerned them not a whit. Emancipated to that extent from the intellectual thralldom of capitalism, they concentrated their thoughts upon the real issue—the abolition of wage slavery. Thus the Labor Movement in the land found itself a long step forward.

All thanks to the Spanish war tax! Upper and lower capitalists—bank depositors and "lager-bier" saloon keepers jointly with their capitalist brewery partners, etc., etc.—were bled by the Spanish war tax; and while these variously sized, vampires on the flanks of Labor were bleeding, the bleeder furnished the matchless opportunity for Labor to gain such insight into the question that it places the workers in a position infinitely stronger to resist the fraudulent slogan, when it again makes its appearance, than they ever were in before.

The Spanish war tax was desertful.

The news from Washington tells us it is dead. As the hearse passes, the Socialists rise, and, with hats off, betoken their respect to the desertful dead.

THAT "NOBLY WAGED CLASS STRUGGLE" AGAIN.

There is in Congress a bill known as H. R. 5777. Its purpose is to amend the law relating to copyright. At present, the two copies required to be deposited with the Librarian of Congress must be printed from type set, or from negatives, or drawings on stone made within the limits of the United States, or from plates made therefrom. Bill H. R. 5777 proposes to abolish that. The copies to be deposited with the Government are to be freed from the restriction of being set up or plated in the country. On its face, the bill is in the interest of literary or art piracy. The fact may be cloaked by free trade declaration, and the issue may be still more beclouded by patriotic rantings of its adversaries. In fact, however, both the law and the proposed bill are whirling in the vortex of conflicting capitalist interests. To one set of lithographic bosses the present law is a hindrance, to others it is a protection. With this quarrel the working class has no concern. Whichever boss wins, they, the workers, remain down: their wages continue to be determined by the supply of and demand for their labor; they continue in wage-slavery, which means that their struggle for existence will continue to increase. The class-conscious workingman, the class-conscious labor organization would, accordingly, turn the cold shoulder to the whole dispute, and, if approached by either of the disputants to join in the fray, dismiss them with a sharp: "A plague on both your houses!"

Not so with the fakir-led pure and simple Union. Accordingly, the "Lithographers' International Protective and Beneficial Association of the United States and Canada," has come out with a printed circular, signed by its "President" and "Secretary," inviting the public to exercise pressure upon Congress against the bill. What does this mean? It means that the said fakir-led pure and simple organization takes sides with the employers who have no interest in H. R. 5777; that it thereby takes sides against those employers of some of its own members who are for the bill; that thereby it sets itself in opposition to some of its own members, who hereupon are used by their employers to pronounce against the bill; and finally, that thereby it splits up its own ranks.

To take part in the conflicts of the capitalist class is a certain means for workmen to wreck the Labor Movement. Capitalist interests conflict. The identification of one set of workers with one capitalist interest sets them at war with the workers who depend upon employers with hostile interests. And such is the uniform conduct of fakir-led Unionism; and such is the conduct that the Kangaroo Social Democracy glories by styling "a nobly waging of the class struggle."

Class-consciousness solidifies the working class: it enables them to perceive and adhere closely to the line of the class struggle; guided thereby, the workers stand united: the class interests of the working class are identical. Pure and simple, so far from adhering to the line marked out by the class struggle, scatters like chaff before the wind of opposing capitalist interests; it thereby and therefore divides and keeps divided the ranks of the working class; it therefore fills an ignoble role. It stands in the way of the workers' emancipation and deserves annihilation.

The scandal in connection with the St. Louis Municipal Assembly, wherein it has come to light that there was over one hundred thousand dollars deposited to bribe the members, is startling, as announced in the press dispatches, simply because it was found out, and for no other reason. It is nothing startling that men who are placed in power by corrupt political parties, by parties whose one plank is make as much as you can and protect those who do make, should, when the opportunity came, take money for the granting of franchises. It is probable that there was never yet a franchise granted that was not engineered through by interested parties in the body granting it, that was not tricked through by crafty lobbyists, or else that was not forced through by the power of cash. The St. Louis incident was proportionately great, because the favor asked was a great one. There is a vast amount of wealth to be drawn from these privileges which Democrats, Republicans, Populists and Social Democrats unite in "giving" away.

Train robbery is now becoming a popular pastime in the South. Perhaps those who find their chief pleasure in lynching have a little spare time and so turn it to account in train robbery. The two occupations would go well together.

Now the Federation of Churches comes forward to "redeem" New York. New York, as is known, is "pledged" to "reform," and it is from "reform" that the Federation of Churches seeks to "redeem" it. Do they fear that all "unre-

deemed" pledges will be sold to Tammany?

The Kangaroos are in clover. It will be remembered that the "Volkszeitung" made the startling discovery that, because of the Spanish war taxes, workingmen were paying \$100 each in additional taxes. The war tax has been repealed. The Kangaroos claim to have 9,000 membership, not counting the 4,000 in Porto Rico, the 10 in Hawaii; or the 3 in Manila. It is safe to say that on an average each of the 9,000 has a family of 3, making 3 persons, from the shoulders of each of which \$100 taxes have now been removed. What a man does not pay he is in pocket. Multiplying 9,000 by 4 we have 36,000 taxpayers, each of whom has been giving up \$100, or \$3,600,000. That amount is now saved to the Kangaroos, and the problem of raising the salary of the Rev. Vol 50 cents a week should be easy. The \$3,599,974 left can be used towards setting up a daily English "Volkszeitung" without pulling the legs of the unions.

Hanna's Vice-president performed on his hind legs last Wednesday evening at the Waldorf-Astoria to an appreciative audience of big merchants and employers of labor. They all felt very much at ease in the Waldorf. Last year, when Gompers performed on the subject of harmony, he and they knew less, and they ventured to appear in public at the Cooper Union, where Gompers was hissed and laughed off the stage. In the Waldorf, as the papers correctly say with a sense of not a little relief, "there were no Socialists present to disturb the harmony."

The request of the firemen on the New Haven Road for an increase in wages brings out the fact that these "highly organized men" are working for only \$1.75 a day. What have these men been paying dues for all this time to the Organized Scabbery who runs their Union?

Harry Lehr, more commonly known by the well-earned title of Dog-Latcher-Lehr, because of the \$25.00 a plate spread he gave to some cynics which move in the same set with him, gave a dinner to some friends the other night, and had his house converted into a tropical bower. The guests stepped from the cold wintry air to the warm hothouse of the light and the cheerfulness of Italy. It is not a matter of record that Mr. Lehr ever worked. The only real hard labor he ever did was to marry a rich woman. Yet this man, who never works and who is probably incapable of thinking or feeling, squanders more in a night than a dozen workmen's families have to live on in a year.

It is said that the box holders in the Metropolitan Opera House refuse to surrender their places to Prince Henry. This is decidedly unbecomely of them, as the majority would, at any time, give up a barrel even to be kicked by "royalty."

Temperance people are now sending a coffee wagon to fires so that the fire fighters can get a little refreshment. Better use the coffee on the fire. Charity and temperance substitute for coffee would double the warmest flame.

The Boston fire which resulted in the death of ten poor persons who dwelt in the tenement burned, brings to light the fact that the tenement had not been inspected since 1882. During that time Boston has had Democratic, Republican, and "reform" administrations. But none of these touched upon a building into which were crowded three or four score persons. No attention was paid to the fire-trap because it was owned by a capitalist and was inhabited by workingmen. The former should not be disturbed in his pursuit of gain, and the latter are of no consequence.

Political and Economic.

The Milwaukee, Wis., "Social Democratic Herald" takes its Kangaroo national officers, located in St. Louis, to task for their ridiculous attempt to get the whole International Socialist Movement to boycott the World's fair on the ground of a certain wooden fence being "unpleasant," and other such sillinesses. Commenting on the act, the "Social Democratic Herald" objects to its party being made "the laughing stock of the entire Socialist movement," and it protests against its party being "made the tail to the little trades union squabbles in St. Louis." * * * or of the trades union movement in any way." The "Social Democratic Herald" indigmities, objects and protests too late. Its party officially made itself the tail of the trades union at that fateful moment, now nearly a year ago, when, in national convention assembled, it adopted a declaration that the said unions were "nobly waging the class struggle." The present clown-performance of its national officers is but one of the natural results of that first step. There is no other choice: a party that claims to be Socialist either must make the Trades Unions a tail to itself, or it inevitably becomes a tail to them. This is a relentless law. It is to the dynamics of the Socialist Movement what the law of gravitation is in mechanics.

"The Staats Zeitung" had everything fixed to give a square meal to Prince Henry, and in return for its handout the "Staats Zeitung" thought it was going to receive advertising such as all the billboards in Greater New York could not give. But it made a slight error in figuring up the matter. It placed Prince Henry to its credit. Now comes the mournful news which says "Prince Henry absolutely refuses to allow himself to be made an advertising medium by 'The Staats Zeitung,' or any other paper." It seems that the Prince has money enough to pay for his own lunches, and that "The Staats Zeitung," if it insists on feeding someone, will be forced to give its staff something to eat.

And This Is Called a Victory!

Taunton, Mass., Feb. 3.—The strike that has been on at the Ames street station of the Old Colony Street Railway Company in Brockton has been settled. The men have won. The wages are to remain the same, but there is to be a cut from twelve to nine hours for a day.

'UNSCRUTABLE ARE THE WAYS OF PROVIDENCE.'

Sweet are the uses of adversity;
Which, like the toad, ugly and venomous,
Wears yet a precious jewel in his head.

—Shakespeare.

Tactics, much more than principle, is what the present situation demands in order to switch the overwhelming majority of the working class and of all other decent people in line with the Socialist Movement, and end the misrule of Capitalism. Principle, of course, must be sound and straight. Without that there could be no proper Socialist Movement. But the principles of Socialism, like all abstract Truth, are simple: they can be condensed into a nutshell; and, what is more, they are quite generally understood. There are enough men in the country to-day, who realize that Socialism is right, to turn down the capitalist system, and set up the Socialist Republic. Why does this mass hold aloof? It is not clear upon the tactics requisite to the desired end. While principle, being greatly aided by sentiment, may be settled on by elemental knowledge, tactics, on the other hand, being wholly dependent upon positive knowledge, can be settled on only by a comprehensive view of facts, living facts, facts in motion, accordingly, by a comprehensive view of conflicting streams. This confuses the average mind, especially when its time is taken up with the struggle for existence. The stored experience of the past is not available to them. They must make their own experience. These masses can profit only by their own observations. Hence it comes that, to-day, what is most needed is a knowledge of correct tactics, a knowledge of the correctness of the tactics of the Socialist Labor Party. And this knowledge is being imparted to that vast on-looking mass from quarters least expected.

The stern tactics of the S. L. P. are the sole tactics that the nature of the Social Problem demands. But the masses can not of themselves appreciate their soundness. They are taken for too severe; and the inexperienced masses were all the more inclined to their opinion by the attitude of the Organized Scabbery, misnamed the "Trades Unions." The Organized Scabbery met the S. L. P. indirectly against them, by pronouncing it "shameful attacks," "villification," "disgraceful conduct," "malicious of decent men," etc., etc. Surely, thought the on-looking mass, the tactics of the S. L. P. unnecessarily create enemies to it; its principles and rectitude are unquestionable; but its tactics are offensive. And they stayed away.

It was banking upon the frame of mind of that vast and increasingly vast on-looking mass that the capitalist politicians, aided by their cubs, Organized Scabbery, launched the Social Democratic party in this city, then in this State and then in the rest of the country. To the slogan "Other Tactics," "Kinder Tactics," they set up "another Socialist party," declared the S. L. P. "dying, dying, dead"; put their bogus in charge of the crooks who lent themselves to such practices; and confidently expected that the Socialist Movement would now be scuttled. They were too previous. They underrated the intelligence of the masses. The decoy-duck that they set up created confusion, but failed to attract the masses. These continued to look on, to watch, to observe, and to learn. The latest lesson they received was last Sunday, it was a valuable one.

The Social Democratic or Kangaroo party had joined the Central Labor Union. The two became known as the Central Federated Union. The "Kinder" and "other" tactics were to be exemplified there. And they were. The Kangaroo licked the boots of the Organized Scabbery that ran that sink of corruption, and the Kangaroo press throughout the country shouted "progress!" Presently, what sounds broke out on the startled air? The Kangaroo, smarting under the kicks administered to him by the S. L. P., and realizing full well that he had to make some kind of protest against the "Civic Federation" sell-out of the Gompers crew, did stammer some mild protest against the act. They had to do so to keep up some appearance of decency; and they also knew that their protest would have to be very gentle because they had just voted for Gompers at Scranton, notwithstanding last year Gompers had already joined hands with the "Civic Federation." But their protest, timid tho' it was, raised a storm. All the invectives formerly hurled by the Organized Scabbery at the S. L. P. were hurled at the "Kinder" and "other" tactics. Correct! He who pulls one hair from the tiger's mouth will have upon him the whole tiger, just as if he had tried to pull a tooth out of the tiger.

And thus sweet are the uses of adversity. The ugly and venomous Kangaroo, his tail to the Socialist Movement, will wear a precious jewel in his head. He—meant for scuttling the Socialist Movement—becomes the source of valuable information, that will help the on-looking masses to appreciate the wisdom of the S. L. P. tactics, and to join in facing the tiger of capitalism in the only way the beast can be successfully tackled.

To Stop "Busting" Trusts.

Lincoln, Neb., Feb. 3.—The State of Nebraska has given up trust fighting. The last of the half-dozen suits filed by Attorney-General Smyth will be dismissed at the session of the Supreme Court beginning to-morrow. Mr. Smyth was an ardent supporter of Mr. Bryan, and the campaign against trusts was begun during 1900 as an object lesson. The attack ranged from the Standard Oil Company to a local ice combination. Each prosecution has broken down through inability of the State to prove that the combinations were in restraint of trade. The last of the batch is the suit against the National Starch Company.

The present Attorney-General says that the National controls less than one-half of the starch output. He adds that in every case bequeathed to him his predecessor had made only weak and ineffective efforts to prove his charges, and that a breakdown was inevitable.



Uncle Sam and Brother Jonathan

UNCLE SAM—I saw you reading the Socialist Labor Party's platform. I'm glad of it. Are you going to join?

BROTHER JONATHAN—I don't yet know. There are a number of things I don't understand.

U. S.—Which one, for instance?

B. J.—How they're going to do it? For instance: Here are the Vanderbilts and others owning the railroads; there are the Goulds owning the telegraphs. I understand that Socialists want all these things including the mines, the factories—

U. S.—The whole machinery of production, transportation and distribution.

B. J.—Yes, they want to nationalize all these things.

U. S.—Correct.

B. J.—But all these things are now owned by private individuals. How are these to be taken from them? Are these people going to be bought off? If so, where are you going to get the money from? Or—

U. S.—Bought off! Was King George "bought off"? Did the Colonists raise money to pay him? My recollection of the transaction is, that, when "moneys were raised," they were raised to knock down King George, not "to buy him off."

B. J.—Why, then, Socialists mean to confiscate all these things?

U. S.—Did the Revolutionary Fathers "confiscate" these Colonies?

B. J.—puckers up his lips.

U. S.—They belonged to King George.

B. J.—They did.

U. S.—If the simple fact of taking away a thing from one who "owns" it is "confiscation," then surely these Colonies were "confiscated."

B. J.—I don't like that word "confiscation."

U. S.—But wasn't it confiscation all the same?

B. J.—Makes a wry face.

U. S.—Let me come to your aid. It wasn't confiscation.

B. J.—I'm glad you say so!

U. S.—You evidently feel that the taking away of the Colonies from King George has all the outward marks of confiscation, and yet you feel a strong aversion to giving that name to the action of our Revolutionary Fathers. There is a conflict in your mind. The reason is that you are not clear upon an important legal, historical, and sociologic fact.

B. J.—Which?

U. S.—The term "confiscation" implies the recognition of some law. If the property taken is owned by a law that is recognized, then the act is confiscation; if the law on which the ownership is based is denied, then there is no confiscation. Now, then, under a sun that ever shone, have people ever folded their arms and died "by law"? Just as soon as a people realize that a certain system of laws stands between them and their lives, that law has gone, must and does go. Catch on?

B. J.—I do.

U. S.—Now, then, the propertyship of these Colonies in King George was grounded on certain laws; our Revolutionary Fathers long felt the shoe pinching; their lives becoming more and more precarious; they did not know where the fault lay, and groped about, bowing to that law. Finally the truth dawned upon them. They became conscious of the fact that the trouble lay in the social system. Just as soon as they saw that, they kicked the law overboard.

B. J.—Bully for them!

U. S.—And took possession of the country. Their depriving King George of what he had was not "confiscation" because the Revolution overthrew the law on which his "property rights" rested, and established another system of laws that vested the property in them—

B. J.—And high time it was, too!

U. S.—Revolutions bring along with them their own laws. By the laws of our first Revolution this territory was ours, and, accordingly, we simply took possession of our own.

B. J.—That's all right.

U. S.—So with regard to the ownership of these mines, railroads, factories, in short, of the nation's machinery of production. The proprietary rights of the present owners, the capitalist class, are grounded on a certain system of laws. So long as people bow to them they will consider the taking of that property to be confiscation. But our people feel pinched and are going down. As our Revolutionary Fathers did years ago for quite a while, so do our people now grope about bowing to those laws. But they will pretty soon discover that these laws stand between themselves and their lives. Soon as they make that discovery, the law will be overthrown, and, with that, the proprietary rights of the capitalist class. Our second Revolution, now at hand, will bring its own laws along with it. By those laws the ownership of the nation's machinery of production will rest in our people jointly, and when they take possession they will be simply taking their own, and that's no "confiscation" (U. S. chuckles B. J. under the chin).

In the Land of "Municipal Socialism."

Out of 156,000 houses or flats in Glasgow 36,600 were found to have but one room, 70,000 but two rooms.

